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# Southeast Asia Report

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 9, September 1984

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23 November 1984

## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

## VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 9, September 1984

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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## DISPLAYING A HIGH SPIRIT OF SELF-RELIANCE IN BUILDING THE COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 84 pp 1-5

[Editorial]

[Text] Our country is advancing from small-scale production directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. This is the necessary course of the proletarian revolution in our country in the modern era. However, it is a new, difficult and complex course, one that demands research and creativity, demands that we tap the combined strength of the people in coordination with the strength of our times in each field of socio-economic life in our work of building and defending the fatherland. To insure success, the fundamental issues to which special attention must be given, as pointed out by the 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party, are to firmly maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat, build the system of collective ownership of the working people and carry out socialist industrialization.

Our country is building socialism amidst an international situation characterized by complex developments, a situation in which the enemy is doing everything possible to encircle and cause problems for our country in a vain attempt to isolate us. In particular, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, are vigorously waging a wide-ranging war of sabotage against our people. Our economy is still underdeveloped, still bears deep scars of the neo-colonialist war waged by the U.S. imperialists and is characterized by serious imbalances within production, between production and consumption and among the various sectors of the economy.

However, we have basic advantages in our favor. They are: the line of the party, a correct line that is consistent with the laws governing the advance by our country's revolution and has been concretized in a manner consistent with present realities; the spirit of revolutionary struggle and diligence of our people and their ability to bring creativity to their work; the experiences that have been gained and the correct changes that have been made in economic management; the fact that much production capacity is not being fully utilized, such as our labor, arable land, the trade sector, existing material-technical bases and new ones that are being built; and the assistance

and full-scale cooperation of the Soviet Union and the other countries within CEMA, of the two fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea.

By developing upon these basic advantages and correcting the mistakes, shortcomings and weaknesses pointed out by the 5th Congress of the Party and in the resolutions of the Party Central Committee, we can overcome the difficulties being faced in the initial stage of the period of transition and move the revolution steadily forward, beginning by completing the tasks and meeting the main objectives of the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan, virtually stabilizing the socio-economic situation and making good preparations for steady but faster development under the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan and in the subsequent period.

During the first 3 years of the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan, in keeping with the guidelines and tasks set by the 5th Congress of the Party and through changes in economic policy and management measures designed to stimulate high productivity, quality and efficiency and increase the responsibility and initiative of the sectors, the various levels and the individual laborer, our entire country as well as each locality and installation displayed the spirit of ownership, took a hard look at reality, discovered and found ways to develop potentials, made improvements to organization and management, overcame many difficulties and won victories in the work of building socialism and defending the fatherland. The most striking results achieved during the past 3 years were that we brought the economy from the decline that followed the serious upheavals of 1979 and 1980, gradually turned the economy around and slowly but steadily achieved stability in one area at a time in a way that will eventually lead to new, strong stages of development. The economy was gradually reorganized and industrial production, agricultural production and national income rose each year. Most significantly, in agriculture, despite limited material-technical resources and natural disasters that struck many areas, grain production developed strongly and the grain harvest rose by 1 million tons each year under the product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers. Advances were made in industry, small industry, the handicraft trades, communications-transportation and capital construction and significant increases in output were recorded in some areas compared to 1979-1980. Some adjustments were also made in distribution and circulation. More attention was given to export-import activities and our exports slowly increased. International cooperation was strengthened and aid and loans from foreign countries were utilized in a more carefully calculated and considered manner with a view toward achieving better returns.

The weaknesses and difficulties of the economy are still very large. However, the achievements and advances that have been recorded during the past 3 years confirm that even under the very difficult and complex circumstances of a country that is advancing to socialism from small-scale production, we can achieve our objectives by fully adhering to the line and viewpoints of the party, tapping the energies and intelligence of the people and organizing the performance of the tasks and the implementation of the policies of the party and state in a thorough and creative manner that is well suited to the specific circumstances of each sector, locality and installation.

These achievements and advances are made even more significant by the fact that they were achieved primarily through the efforts and labor of the people and the existing capabilities of our country, and by correctly coordinating them with assistance from foreign countries in the spirit of self-reliance, not in the spirit of waiting for or relying upon foreign assistance.

Self-reliance is one of the factors of victory, a factor that had a decisive impact in the fight to defeat the enemy and save the country, a factor which, today, in our economic construction and defense of the fatherland, retains its inherent revolutionary worth. For this reason, the resolution of the 4th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee established the need to "move forward displaying self-reliance and the spirit of ownership to develop every capability that exists in order to balance the plan in a positive and sound manner" and defined the task of ideological work as waging a resolute struggle against "...the habit of relying upon others and the failure to assume responsibility in the face of the common difficulties of the country, of the difficulties being encountered in socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland."

Self-reliance is the consistent revolutionary view of the party. By firmly adhering to this viewpoint, regardless of how many difficulties we face, we are able to maintain our confidence, display a high spirit of responsibility and determination to win, display dynamism and creativity and will surely achieve victory. Conversely, at those times and places that we foresake this viewpoint, that we wait for and rely upon others, we become confused, encounter problems and might even suffer defeat. In recent years, with the same availability of supplies, raw materials and energy that existed in 1979 and 1980, the economy has undergone positive change and many localities and installations, instead of standing idly by, have made vigorous efforts, have maintained and developed their production and produced many new products by reorganizing their production, improving their management, finding ways to develop their potentials, making full use of discarded materials and defective products, researching the production of substitute materials, creating local sources of raw materials, restoring, repairing and improving old or broken machinery and manufacturing tools, equipment and parts in order to equip themselves. In addition, they have also established additional sources of export goods, increased their exports in order to import items necessary for production and established economic ties and cooperation in order to supplement and support one another. In summary, by displaying initiative and creativity in overcoming their difficulties, they have, on their own, created the conditions needed to establish a positive balance among production factors, complete their task and meet the targets of their plan.

In theory as well as practice, the development of a thing, of an entire society is always determined by its internal forces. To develop the economy, solidify and strengthen the national defense system, bring the country through its difficulties and move steadily forward, we, ourselves, must bring the full measure of our energies and talents to performing our work in a manner consistent with our actual circumstances. Assistance from the outside, the aid provided by the fraternal countries are very necessary and important, even indispensable, but they cannot take the place of efforts on our part. Objective factors only have a positive impact when they are received in a

spirit of self-reliance and are only truly significant when they are considered a source of strength that enables us to rapidly develop and grow, that makes us better able to resolve the problems of our country and people on our own. Growth through our own efforts will create the conditions for expanded cooperation and socialist ties with foreign countries, to the benefit of both sides, and, in this way, we can acquire more of what is needed for our country's development to be continuous. This principle applies to the entire country as well as to each sector, each locality, each installation and each laborer within the national economy. Everything that reflects an attitude of waiting for or relying upon others, a lack of self-confidence, our country relying up foreign countries, the lower levels relying upon the upper levels and the people relying upon the state is detrimental, is contrary to the spirit of self-reliance. Of course, to advance from small-scale production directly to socialism, we must have the assistance of the Soviet Union, of the other fraternal socialist countries and must wholeheartedly seek this assistance. Within the economy, the localities and installations must receive a certain amount of assistance from the upper level, including the central level. However, the resources that can be obtained from foreign countries and from the upper level are limited, consequently, each place must make its own arrangements and develop its potentials in order to establish the various balances on its own and find ways to achieve objectives. The resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum pointed out: "Every sector, locality and basic unit must take the initiative and look for every way to develop the strengths and capabilities that lie in many different sources in order to meet its own needs and contribute to the entire country." In addition to the capital supplied by the state, which must be utilized in a sensible and economical manner, the sectors, localities and installations must attach foremost importance to making full use of their own capabilities, mobilizing as much capital on their own as they can and develop the potentials that lie in arable land, labor and existing production capacity and local supplies and raw materials to augment the limited capital supplied by the central level. It is necessary to strengthen credit relations, use credit to develop production and business and implement the guideline "the state and the people working together" in order to mobilize, in a rational and effective manner, the energies of the people for the construction of economic, cultural and social bases that yield practical benefits and directly serve the people of the locality and installation. We must expand the cooperation and ties in production and business among economic units, among the localities and among the different segments of the economy with a view toward supplementing one another and making it possible for each side to highly develop its potentials and strengths. Efforts must be made to produce many export goods and increase the importation of necessary supplies and raw materials for production by stepping up our exports. Coordinating and making full use of all four sources of capital mentioned above are the best way to achieve a combined strength, to fully mobilize the internal capabilities of the national economy and move forward on our own to satisfactorily meet the pressing everyday needs and construction needs that face each sector and level against the background of an economy that still faces many serious difficulties and imbalances. The thinking of relying upon others and the lack of self-confidence are major impediments to progress that we must make a determined effort to overcome.



Self-reliance is closely tied to the exercise of socialist collective ownership. On the one hand, it is only by exercising collective ownership well that we can achieve a combined strength with which to move forward on our own. On the other hand, only by establishing a good sense of collective ownership can we clearly see where our responsibility lies, make efforts to provide for our own needs and not make demands or sit and wait until everything has been provided to us at a time when the capabilities of the state, of the upper level are still limited. The display of self-reliance by each person and each level is the correct way to express the viewpoint of collective ownership, is the prerequisite to the display of self-reliance by the entire country.

Self-reliance does not mean closing the door and only concerning ourselves with ourselves. Because it is closely tied to the viewpoint of collective ownership, the spirit of self-reliance does not embody localism, departmentalism, liberalism or fragmentation of any form. When a locality or installation performs its work on its own, it is not permitted to think only of its own interests, to harm the interests of another unit, of the upper level, of the entire country nor may it put itself into a position in which it must seek the cooperation and assistance of foreign countries. To the contrary, it must contribute to the common good and make it possible for the country to display self-reliance. Violations of policies, regulations and discipline, such as competing against one another in procurements and sales, not adhering to signed economic contracts, using one another's capital, arbitrarily using goods set aside for two way trade with farmers to earn money through the difference in prices for inclusion in the local budget, not fulfilling the obligation to centralize goods in the hands of the state, not making fair financial payments to the central budget, retaining products and capital to serve the interests and perform the work of one's unit, one's locality and so forth, such as those that have been occurring and continue to occur, are, in the final analysis, due to the lack of a sense of collective and are contrary to the viewpoint of being self-reliant.

When we talk about self-reliance, we are talking about frugality and efficiency. Frugality is part of the essence of socialism. When one's economy is poor, it is even more necessary to practice strict frugality. We must be frugal in our use of time, supplies, capital, land and natural resources, be frugal in production and consumption. Efficiency is the highest measurement, is the standard by which the activities of each laborer, of an entire organization, an entire unit are evaluated. Productivity, quality and efficiency must become the slogan of revolutionary action. Operating at a loss in production and business, consuming everything that is produced, even engaging in wasteful consumption that exceeds ceilings and regulations, that far exceeds production capabilities, eating deeply into capital and using aid and loans from foreign countries for consumption, as a result of which it is impossible to carry out simple reproduction and accumulate capital for expanded reproduction, are contrary to the law of reproduction, contrary to principles of frugality and efficiency, contrary to the viewpoint of being self-reliant.

To develop the spirit of self-reliance, it is necessary to give everyone a clear understanding of the situation and tasks and make everyone aware of the

fact that building socialism and defending the fatherland are the work of our entire party and all our people, work to which each person, each level and each sector must contribute as much as possible, work that no one can perform for us. On this basis, we must vigorously tap our spirit of responsibility, offensive will, intelligence and creativity, our confidence in our own strengths, take the initiative and perform our tasks with full awareness of what we are doing. It is necessary to correctly observe the principle of democratic centralism within management. The central level must control the key tasks of national significance, the tasks that have a decisive impact upon the development of the country and resolutely centralize the labor, technical materials and capital needed to insure that these tasks are performed well. It must eliminate the bureaucratic centralism and subsidy system that have been and are causing obstructions and inflexibility, causing the lower levels to be passive, to rely upon the upper levels. At the same time, it is necessary to improve the division of management responsibilities, grant increased independence to the localities and installations, create necessary material conditions in a manner consistent with the capabilities of the state and adopt correct policies that eliminate bottlenecks and stimulate the initiative and creativity of localities and installations in developing their potentials in order to establish the various balances and insure the successful performance of assigned tasks in a manner that benefits the locality and installation while benefiting the entire country as well.

The positive changes that have occurred during the past several years have given us confidence in ourselves. By displaying a high spirit of self-reliance, beginning by successfully carrying out the tasks and meeting the objectives set forth in the resolutions of the party and successfully completing the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan, we will surely build a new, strong and steady momentum of development in our advance from small-scale production directly to socialism.

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## FIRMLY ADHERING TO LAWS, IMPROVING ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 84 pp 6-39

[Speech by CPV Central Committee General Secretary Le Duan at 3 July 1984 Sixth Plenum of the CPV Central Committee]

[Text] Dear comrades, the current Central Committee plenum will discuss the question of improving economic management. This is an important and urgent task which must be correctly carried out in order to bring into full play the achievements already recorded and take our national economy over the immediate difficulties and make it progress continuously and strongly.

Constantly improving economic management is our permanent and important duty. This duty has been set not only for our country, which is still at the initial stage of the transition period, but also for other fraternal socialist countries. During the past scores of years, in the process of building an advanced socialist society, the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries have considered the perfection of the economic managerial mechanism to be one of the duties of prime importance, which is aimed at enhancing the production efficiency of the entire national economy, exploiting national potentials in depth and developing the superiority of the socialist economy.

In our country, the question of renovating economic management was already set out in the program of the Party Central Committee soon after the 4th Party Congress and was given particular attention at the 6th Party Central Committee Plenum. At the 5th Party Congress and subsequent plenums of the Central Committee, basic orientations were mapped out in this direction. Our party and state have made great efforts to further overcome bureaucracy and the ills of subsidization in the old managerial system, and have begun the building of a new managerial system aimed at correctly implementing the principles of economic management. This new managerial system is also designed to insure the centralized and unified management by the central government, while developing the dynamism and creativity of establishments, localities and sectors in production and business, achieving the laboring masses' right to collective mastery and vigorously encouraging an increase in labor productivity and economic efficiency.

These initial results in economic management, as pointed out by the 5th Party Central Committee plenum, have made an important contribution to creating new changes in the socio-economic situation over the past 3 years. In spite of this, our national economy is still encountering many difficulties which can be seen in the following areas: material and technical bases are still weak; labor output, quality and economic efficiency are still low; the socialist battleground has been narrowed in some respects; there still are lingering phenomena of disorder and indiscipline in the economic and social order; and the state machinery is not effective enough.

Besides the objective causes that the Central Committee has clearly pointed out on several occasions, we should realize the subjective shortcomings more fully, first of all in economic management. In this domain there are still numerous manifestations of conservatism and sluggishness as well as scatteration and localism. First of all, the party line has not yet been thoroughly understood or correctly concretized in a way suitable for the country's situation in order to create a more appropriate new managerial mechanism.

Under socialism, economic management must apply the objective laws already learned to ceaselessly enhance the efficiency of each production and business unit, as well as the efficiency of the entire national economy in order to achieve, at all costs, the socio-economic targets set by the leading party. Managerial practices and relatively widespread errors and shortcomings have attested to the urgency of the task of renovating management, both in its form and its content. We cannot avoid systematically examining everything--from the economic structure and production organizations to planning, the economic policies and the managerial apparatus--in order to determine, on this basis, an appropriate managerial mechanism. This is no easy task, but it must absolutely be done and done correctly. Our efforts must be concentrated on resolving a number of key links at all costs.

A major advantage is that we already have at our disposal the rich experience of the fraternal countries in socialist construction in general and economic management in particular. We should refer to and apply this experience in a creative manner and should not copy it mechanically. To build a correct managerial mechanism, we must review our own experiences.

Taking our national economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, is an unprecedented occurrence in history but a necessity in modern times. The process of development from small-scale to large-scale socialist production poses a host of problems in theory and practice that should be resolved. These include thoroughly understanding the revolutionary line and the line of economic development, bringing into play the moving forces of development, strengthening state management, enhancing the level of practical work organization and launching mass revolutionary movements.

We will not be able to successfully manage the economy if we do not advance and grasp the sharpest theoretical weapon of our time: the method of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. The party must equip its cadres and members with a profound knowledge of theory and practice and



promote among the contingent of leading and management cadres a correct way of thinking about economic matters, that is, a firm grasp and correct application of the economic laws and principled matters of the socialist revolution in our country. At this Central Committee plenum, before going into resolving specific questions of the managerial mechanism, I would like to present these principled problems to the comrade members of the Central Committee, problems which have been raised very concisely and succinctly in the general line and the line of economic construction but which have not yet been fully understood or correctly applied by all of us.

If we fail to clearly realize the general principled problems and thoroughly understand the basic concepts of the line, we will not be able to make correct decisions concerning economic management.

#### I. The Laboring People Exercise Their Collective Mastery; Conduct the Three Revolutions Simultaneously

The line of socialist revolution set forth by our party clearly specifies: the laboring people acting as collective masters constitute the characteristic of the new regime. Establishing the collective mastery system of the laboring people is the comprehensive objective of the socialist revolution. The exercise of collective mastery by the laboring people is a completely new matter in our country as in other socialist countries. This the very reason why one cannot easily realize its historical character.

To our Vietnamese people, the 4,000 years of national construction and defense have forged valuable and firm traditions for our nation: the will to master the country and a sense of community. Due to these traditions, our nation could stand firmly and not be assimilated after 1,000 years of domination by northern feudalism. Our forefathers victoriously fought the wars of aggression by the Chinese expansionist forces through many dynasties.

Now, under Marxist-Leninist leadership, these traditions unexpectedly meeting with the epochal trend created a great strength for the new regime, insuring our people's ability to defeat the first two powerful imperialists--France and the United States.

Building the collective mastery system of the laboring people is to combine national traditions with epochal strength. As the nature of the new regime and the objective of the socialist revolution, collective mastery is the combined result of the three revolutions. It is established in close correlation with the new economy, new culture and new socialist men.

The revolution in production relations creates the economic bases for the laboring people to exercise their collective mastery over labor, the means of production, production itself and distribution and circulation. Making light of this revolution, no matter in which tasks, will also weaken the economic bases of the collective mastery system. Reluctance to carry out socialist transformation and failure to correctly carry out or emphasize the planning task, develop mastery over production and distribution and circulation and properly implement the principle of distribution according to labor and so forth are tantamount to allowing non-socialist economic elements to develop,

eroding the socialist economy and diverting economic activities from the fundamental socialist orientations.

The technological revolution creates the material and technical basis of socialism. This revolution gives the laboring people the ability to increasingly and more successfully master nature and society, erects the material backbone of the new regime, brings about the victorious socialist national industrialization and insures total and permanent victory of collective mastery over individual mastery. If we lack zeal to adopt technology and determination to carry out industrialization, and if we delay in applying the technological revolution to the necessary tasks, production will mark time and the workers' livelihood remains difficult.

The revolution in production relations combined with the technological revolution forms the industrial-agricultural structure and the socio-economic, material and technical bases of the collective mastery system.

The ideological and cultural revolution builds new socialist men who know how to exercise collective mastery and have an ability and sense of mastery.

We must overcome the situation in which we neglect the ideological and cultural battlefield, and fail to resolutely struggle against the capitalist, colonialist and feudalist ideologies and criticize and transform the thinking, lifestyle, psychology and the habits of small producers; the vestiges of former culture and backward customs and mores which deprave man and incite egoism.

The collective mastery system is the whole body of all political, socio-economic and cultural relations. It must be built in a uniform manner by simultaneously implementing the three revolutions.

The collective mastery system is not merely the final goal of the socialist revolution but is also the objective for daily revolutionary acts. The relations of a new socialist society take shape, develop and ripen through each developmental step of the socialist revolution. We must promptly and gradually institutionalize these relations by appropriate organizations, plans, laws and rules in order to insure that the laboring people can actually master their own life.

Depending on the development of the three revolutions, the collective mastery system is built step by step, from lower to higher echelons, and from imperfection to perfection. Properly established, the collective mastery system becomes the motive force of the socialist revolution. It makes the laboring people masters of society, nature and themselves. Exercising mastery is to grasp regulations and act accordingly. When man can grasp the laws of society, nature and thinking and apply them to the organization and management of society, he will accelerate the evolution of history at unprecedentedly rapid rates.

The collective mastery system assures political, economic, cultural and social mastery for the laboring people. Political mastery creates the integrated strength of three factors: the party leadership, state management and the

broad revolutionary mass movement of tens of millions of people. Economic mastery insures unity between production relations and forces, intermingling production relations with production forces. It allows the immediate reorganization of some tens of millions of people to exploit land and develop sectors and jobs in accordance with a rational program and nationwide plan. In combination with the technological revolution, it creates great production forces to triumph over poverty and backwardness. Cultural mastery creates conditions for the laboring people to develop the fine traditions of the nation, grasp the towering achievements of human intelligence and transform them into material strength.

So, the collective mastery system brings about the three most powerful tools to the laboring people: political power, economic and technological strength and ideological and cultural force.

The collective mastery system combines community forces with individual strength. Society, family and individuals are originally united, but human exploitation systems antagonize society to individuals and families. The collective mastery system unifies individuals, families and society in the most rational existence. It liberates society so that individuals can be liberated and takes care of the prosperity of society for the happiness of each family and each individual. It binds individuals to the discipline of the community in order to bring about adequate freedom to individuals. It combines community mastery with individual mastery, and brings about integrated strength for the entire country, each locality and each collective. Individual mastery develops the physical and intellectual strength and ability of liberated people within the framework of and in conformity with community mastery.

The collective mastery system combines the strength of mastery at three levels: national, local and grassroots levels. It creates the strength of the entire country.

Exercising mastery nationwide is the basic condition to exercise mastery over each locality and each primary installation. National strength stems from the primary installation and localities.

Mastery at a national level creates conditions for developing a mastery of each primary installation and each locality. Since the 5th Party Congress, the revolutionary realities have given us fruitful lessons on developing collective mastery as the objective and motive force of the revolution.

The implementation of some correct policies of economic management at different levels has clearly made the source of this motive force of the collective mastery system stand out. All these correct policies have asserted the truth that the laboring people acquire their mastery not for any other purpose than their own benefits.

Karl Marx expressed this truth in a profound manner: once ideology is detached from interest, it will certainly disgrace itself.

Collective mastery is the only system capable of fostering the laboring people's lasting interest according to the basic economic law of socialism: to satisfy the increasing material and cultural needs of all society and each of its members by ceaselessly developing production on the basis of collective mastery and ever higher science and technology. In the economic domain, the system of collective mastery shapes a rational structure of interest. This is the unification of the interests of society, of the collective and of the individual laborer, of which the interest of society is paramount and lasting, that of the collective is very important and that of the individual laborer is direct. The system of collective mastery also demands and permits a harmonious association of the interest of the entire country with that of each locality and each basic unit, of which the interest of the entire country is paramount and lasting, that of the localities is important and that of the basic units is direct. Once associated, these interests constitute a moving force that stimulates the laborer to produce and work increasingly better.

In economic management we must overcome the malady of bureaucratic centralism--which belittles the interests of the laborer, the basic unit and the locality--as well as the maladies of localism, particularism, factionalism and individualism, which make one concern oneself only with promoting the interests of the locality, the collective and the laborer at the expense of the entire country. If we correctly care for the interests of the locality, the basic unit and the laborer, we must also care for those of the entire country. If we insure the interests of the entire country, it is also because of the interests of the locality, the basic unit and the laborer.

The system of collective mastery not only insures the laboring people's interests but also closely associates interests with power, obligation and responsibility. Wherever there are interests there must also be power to guarantee that the interests are implemented. Interest and power, however, must go hand in hand with obligation and responsibility, the highest ones being the obligation to and responsibility for the cause of socialist national construction and defense. If one has interest but no power, then one has no way to implement one's interests. Having interest and power but no obligation or responsibility will give rise to privileges and special interests. In any case, the relationship among interest, power, obligation and responsibility must be institutionalized as laws, procedures and regulations.

To insure the people's interest and firmly defend the fatherland, there is no other way than exercising collective mastery.

In economic management we must adhere to the viewpoint of collective mastery, regarding it as the most important principle in economic management, and must achieve at all costs a harmonious association of the various interests. On this basis, we must bring the moving force of the system of collective mastery into full play, advance the three revolutions and vigorously and steadily develop the economy.

## II. Build an Industrial-Agricultural Economic Structure

With the industrial-agricultural economic structure serving as a material foundation, the collective mastery system can economically reflect and

guarantee its nature, its goals and its driving force. In the process of advancing from a small production to large-scale socialist production, industry and agriculture must be linked together as a sole structure right from the outset. All establishments of the centrally- and locally-run economic sectors must be developed in terms of specialization and closely organized union in production. Production forces and production relations must be bound together as an integrated whole. The economy must be linked with national defense and the division of labor in the country must go together with the broadening of international cooperation.

The structural relationship between industry and agriculture has been an objective reality from time immemorial when man ended the stage of gathering and was beginning cultivation in order to support himself with food and clothing. Preparing the soil with the most rudimentary tools, mankind at that time combined both agriculture and industry into one production movement. Throughout the course of history, industry has always been instrumental in deciding changes in the quality of agriculture, marking the development of mankind from the Stone Age to the Bronze and Steel Ages and from the use of rudimentary tools to the use of heavy industrial machinery.

Being linked with and stimulated by industry in achieving growth, agriculture has always played a vital role in meeting mankind's ever-growing demands for food, clothing and housing and in supplying manpower and creating markets for industry. Enslavement and feudalist systems, especially the capitalist system, have deepened the division between industry and agriculture and have caused a division between urban and rural areas. Although the relations between industry and agriculture are an objective reality that cannot be eradicated, these relations have spontaneously developed through marketing activities with numerous imbalances and irrationalities and have been distorted by the system of the exploitation of man by man.

Before the introduction of the laboring people's collective mastery system, mankind was unable to master the relations between industry and agriculture. Advancing from small production to large-scale socialist production, we advocate linking industry with agriculture into a structure right from the beginning in accordance with those regulations which have been integrated into party lines and which call for giving priority to developing heavy industry in a rational manner while promoting agricultural and light industrial development.

Binding industry and agriculture together into a structure will demonstrate the abilities of our country's workers and laboring peasants to join hands in achieving collective mastery in socialist construction under the party's leadership.

Priority must be given to developing heavy industry. Only by so doing can we fulfill the central tasks of the transitional period, namely carrying out socialist industrialization and creating what we now badly need for successfully building socialism and firmly defending the fatherland--a heavy engineering industry that is enough to provide modern technical equipment to the entire economy and can be instrumental in promoting the establishment and



the strengthening of socialist production relations and training new men to suit modern, large-scale production. However, the priority development of heavy industry must be carried out rationally, by deciding at what stage we must concentrate on developing which heavy industrial branches. We must rely on the growth of agriculture and light industry to determine the scale and the extent at which we must develop heavy industry. In the initial stage, efforts must first be focused on promoting the development of agriculture and light industry if heavy industry is to acquire capital, manpower and grain for its workers, equipment and raw materials for its factories, and markets for its products.

In the current initial stage, agriculture and light industry have the greatest potential for attracting the social work force and making full use of this work force and land as well as other natural resources of the country in order to turn out more products to meet the people's subsistence, material and cultural requirements. However, every developmental step of agriculture and light industry will take place under the impact of heavy industry and will be aimed at creating more bases for the development of heavy industry.

In the relations between heavy industry and agriculture and light industry, the rational priority role of heavy industry as well as the fundamental role of agriculture and light industry creates conditions for each other. Binding them together into a structure like this constitutes an evolutionary law of economy.

In the initial stage of the transitional period, we must develop collective mastery into a driving force for rationally using our most valuable assets and our greatest economic potentials, namely manpower and land. We must arrange employment for all laborers and exploitation of all land.

The collective mastery system allows us to advance agriculture directly to large-scale socialist production, to carry out production and distribution of agricultural products in accordance with the national plan, to strengthen the material and technical bases of agriculture, to apply more advanced scientific techniques to agriculture, to complete the socialist transformation of agriculture and to build a new rural life and new peasants.

We can redistribute labor in each locality and throughout the country in order to carry out intensive cultivation and increase the number of yearly crops. This is to go along with expanding the cultivated area and exploiting potentials in the deltas, midlands, mountainous regions and sea areas. We must closely associate specialization with general business in agriculture, vigorously develop cultivation and animal husbandry and achieve a close coordination between agriculture, forestry and fishery.

Through these measures, we will strive in the present initial stage to fully use 10 million hectares of agricultural land and 15 million hectares of forest land, to cultivate an average of two crops a year on the land that has been under cultivation, and to arrange an allocation of crops and an animal husbandry pattern in a rational manner in order to make each hectare of land yield the highest economic benefits.

Practical results obtained along this line over the past few years prove our capability of making agriculture advance toward fulfilling its three duties: insuring sufficient food, clothing and dwellings for the people and, in particular, producing sufficient grain for consumption and for reserve; supplying consumer goods industries with raw materials and agricultural products; and creating important sources of export goods.

Such an advance of agriculture to large-scale socialist production is not due to the efforts of peasants and agriculture alone, but it is also the result of the work of both workers and peasants or both industry and agriculture which are closely related to each other in a rational structure.

Agricultural development must be closely associated with development of consumer goods industries which include the foodstuffs industry and various light industrial sectors. Consumer goods industries play a very important role. They employ a considerable amount of labor, increase the value of agricultural products through processing and manufacture finished goods to meet the consumers' needs. Therefore, they are in a position to produce enough goods for exchange with peasants, stimulate agricultural production, provide many items of export goods, help collect major revenues for the state budget and cut down on overspending in an effort to stabilize the financial situation.

Over the past few years the production of consumer goods has increased slowly, manpower and equipment have been used at only half capacity, and the quality of many products has decreased. These shortcomings have directly stood in the way of agricultural production, created more difficulties for the state to control goods and the market, caused a slow development of exports and imports and adversely affected the people's life. Presently we have the ability and there is a critical need to solve such problems as supplying energy and raw materials, reorganizing production and renovating the managerial system in order to develop consumer goods industries both in depth and in breadth, from the central-level state-run industries to handicraft trades and sectors in the rural areas. If the volume of consumer goods increased by only 25-30 percent, there would be marked changes in the state economic position and strength.

In the initial stage of socialism, to concentrate efforts on accelerating agricultural production and to actively develop the production of consumer goods is to strengthen the bases for building heavy industry. On the other hand, to advance agriculture to large-scale socialist production and accelerate the production of consumer goods, we must constantly hold firm to and develop the rational priority role of heavy industry in using really satisfactorily existing heavy industrial capabilities, building more necessary heavy industrial establishments and insuring the supply of more electricity, fuel, fertilizer, insecticide, basic chemicals, various kinds of equipment, machines, tools, spare parts and construction materials. Heavy industry must rationally develop the production and increase the quality of export goods in order to gain more foreign currency to import equipment and materials for agriculture, consumer goods industries and heavy industry itself.

The communications and transportation sector must be reorganized in all respects by broadly implementing the state-and-the-people-work-together policy

in order to quickly and safely support production, construction, national defense and the people's life.

In the coming years special attention must be paid to accelerating the development of the energy and communications and transportation sectors which are the two key components of the infrastructure to insure the conduct of all production and business activities. They are, at the same time, two vital and outstanding areas of the economy.

While orienting heavy industry toward primarily promoting agriculture and the consumer goods industry, we must make all necessary preparations such as establishing economic and technical dialectics and winning the cooperation and assistance of fraternal and other countries to build heavy industry, design various projects and further train workers and cadres.

We must always be active in making full use of all opportunities and abilities to proceed with building some of the key heavy industrial projects, especially the engineering and metallurgy industries. Without steel and mechanical engineering there would be no heavy industry or socialism.

We must strenuously struggle to build major and heavy machineries, accelerate the pace of the mining of oil and gas, quickly making oil and gas an economic trump card; build some more thermal and hydroelectric plants after the Song Da, Pha Lai and Tri An projects; construct metallurgy installations of 500,000 and millions of metric tons of capacity along with some installations of some hundreds of thousands of metric tons; and develop nonferrous metallurgy, the chemical industry and the construction materials industry.

To sum up, in the very first stage beginning with the 5-year 1986-90 plan, we must gradually proceed with the tasks that will become the vital content of the next stage which is to build a network of developed heavy industry serving as the core for the modern economic industrial-agricultural structure.

In an economic structure, the paramount fundamental role rests with the primary units. Without primary installations, there will be no industry and agriculture nor central and local economies and the economy as a whole does not exist.

The primary units constitute the front line of the economic battlefield where all the material wealth, surplus products, and accumulated assets are produced, and where the laboring masses must daily and directly conduct the three revolutions under party leadership and state management.

In industry primary units are factories or joint enterprises. In agriculture which is advancing to large-scale socialist production, basic units are districts closely associated with cooperatives. With approximately 200,000 people and a cultivated areas of about 20,000 hectares, districts play a role of historical significance, serving as a suitable area on which to gather forces from cooperatives, perform a new division of labor, make full use of land, develop sectors and jobs, link cultivation and animal husbandry to the processing of agricultural products and combine the forces of cooperatives and districts with those coming from the provincial and central levels to create



an integrated strength to develop the economy, build a new culture and new men, consolidate national defense and insure the people's livelihood and the recycling of production for expansion.

The fundamental task of economic management is to strive to consolidate and properly develop about 400 major factories and organize joint production in industry together with approximately 400 agro-industrial districts. In this way, we quickly increase social products, radically control goods and money and create a strong backbone for the economy.

In this regard, we must most rationally reorganize production in each factory and each district and apply scientific and technical innovations to the production and business of each primary installation in order to achieve high productivity, quality and effectiveness. We must extend independence to primary units and enhance their dynamism and flexibility, concentrate the strength of all sectors at all levels on guiding and serving the primary installations, promptly eliminate weak installations, quickly turn fair installations into advanced ones and rapidly review and disseminate the experiences of outstanding installations. This is the major guideline for renovating economic management.

The system of collective mastery on the three basic levels will naturally lead to an economic structure in which the basic units are rationally integrated into the central and local economies. The central economy encompasses the most important establishments of the entire country. These establishments, as the leading units of heavy industry, the consumer goods industry and agriculture that employ modern technology and operate on a large scale, will help various economic and technical sectors to take shape at an early date, to become the pillars of the large-scale production system, to achieve specialization and sophistication and to apply modern science and technology.

We must actively consolidate the existing economic and technical sectors and make every effort to steadily build new economic and technical sectors nationwide, to begin with the important ones. We must pay particular attention to the integration of adjoining and mutually complementary sectors, especially the integration of industry and agriculture. This is a strategic task both in the immediate future and in the long run. It calls for close cooperation and coordination among various ministries and the administration at all levels--provincial, municipal, district and precinct.

The local economy encompasses medium- and small-scale establishments, establishments for processing agricultural, forestry and marine products produced by localities; light industrial and building materials establishments of local significance; and a number of establishments producing work tools and production materials for local use. The local economy makes the fullest use of all on-the-spot resources and strengths to achieve the highest regional efficiency. It produces a great variety of goods, takes charge of their distribution and insures the welfare of all the local population, creating a spectrum of rich colors for the economy and all society in each region. It combines economy with national defense, insures on-the-spot logistics and makes increasingly greater contributions to the cause of national industrialization.

By rationally determining the structure of the central and local economies and simultaneously developing them, we can link together all the three stages--those of simple cooperation, a manual worksite and a large engineering industry; correctly apply rudimentary and modern techniques and large-, medium- and small-scale production; and satisfactorily combine specialization, cooperation and association in production, thereby advancing to large-scale socialist production in the most rational and active manner.

The economic structure and managerial mechanism are closely linked to form a single entity in which the economic structure decides the managerial mechanism while the latter serves the former and stimulates the shaping of the new economic structure. We must actively rearrange and reorganize social production, beginning with the basic units. We must set up a rational industrial-agricultural structure to serve both as a target and as a basis for the renovation of the managerial mechanism. Only in this way can the state plans and lever policies develop their effects as expected.

On the other hand, we should take the initiative in determining an appropriate managerial mechanism and apply this mechanism to build the new economic structure in strict accordance with the party line. The important links and weak aspects of the economic structure must be key targets in renovating the managerial mechanism.

In this spirit, at present renovating economic management means seeing to it that all establishments have independence in production and business and that the district level has sufficient right to mastery to successfully build industrial-agricultural districts. It also means that the local economy must be strongly developed; that the various economic and technical sectors, especially the key ones such as engineering, energy, communications and transportation, metallurgy and chemicals, must be actively built; and that all establishments as well as all sectors and localities must quickly apply science and technology and turn out large amounts of products of good quality to insure the people's welfare and achieve accumulation for socialist industrialization.

### III. Associate Planning with Profit-and-Loss Accounting and Socialist Business with Planning as the Central Task

The economy is established on the basis of public ownership over the means of production just as the entire socialist regime was born in a planned manner. While planning the development of each primary economic unit, each locality and each sector, we must plan the entire national economy and rationally organize all labor forces in order to use all labor objectives and means of labor effectively. From the viewpoint and scale of the entire society, we will mobilize all the material and intellectual forces of the regime, concentrate on fulfilling the various tasks and achieve national objectives. This is a characteristic of the nature and superiority of socialism, which capitalism does not possess.

The collective mastery system allows and calls for the development of this nature and superiority from the very outset. We must plan the socio-economic development, build the various standards of self-consciousness and activity

increasingly higher for the economic industrial-agricultural structure as well as for the entire socialist society, thus avoiding the crises that are part of the increasingly serious disease of the international capitalist system.

In our country, although the economy is still dominated by small production and the socialist production relations are not yet widespread throughout the country in this initial stage of the transition period, we always rely on the established collective mastery of the laboring people to develop the role of the socialist state and constantly grasp the planning task in a firm manner, considering it the center of the economic management network for using plans to accelerate the development of production so we can meet the consumption demands of the entire society, assure national defense and security and carry out national industrialization.

The realistic experiences in socialist construction show that planning is one of the fundamental, urgent, difficult and complicated issues in the task of applying international laws and developing the many-sided motivating force of the new region in creating a decisive factor for the victory of socialism, which has a higher labor productivity than capitalism.

Planning is the party's socio-economic platform. The state plan that arranges the economic structure, balances, proportions and targets reflects the strategic selection of the national economy.

In this spirit, planning is to control all the assets in terms of labor, land and other resources and to successfully use all the material and technical bases and production capacity to produce much wealth for society.

The major construction projects using hundreds of thousands of people and the capital of billions of dong, the state factories employing thousands of workers and the production activities of each peasant and individual craftsman are all included in plans or absorbed into the orbit of plans. All the tasks from meeting the great and multifarious demands of the entire society and making long-term preparations for future generations to insuring a normal everyday life of each household, raising small children and caring for old people are calculated and reflected in the balances of the plan.

Plans must be the strongest leverage in the network of economic leverages and are not merely binding regulations. They actually contain in themselves a great force of stimulation and encouragement to the primary units, localities, sectors and individual workers. Plans must be the combination of carefully selected scientific and technical projects which guarantee the swift introduction of scientific and technical innovations into the national economy, create favorable working conditions, and compel all primary installations and workers to work according to progressive economic and technological standards and norms.

Plans must encompass the scope of the three revolutions. Economically, they must manage all the tasks in the process of recycling production and link production closely to distribution and circulation and consumption and domestic markets to world markets.

In conformity with the three fundamental levels of collective mastery, we must build the three basic planning levels: the national level involving sectors, the local level and the primary installation level. All three levels must be mastered by each planning level according to the appropriate scope and method of planning. The three planning levels constitute an objective entity and a unified political and socio-economic reality. The central task of management must be defined as the planning system from the central level to the primary installations. In this system, the plans formulated by primary installations, districts and localities play a very important role.

Speaking of planning at three levels does not mean that a plan is decided upon a center and is then divided into parts and handed down to the lower levels. Similarly, it does not mean that primary installations can formulate their own plans at will, regardless of plans by higher echelons.

Collective mastery at the three planning levels means that each level must actually master its own plan by formulating, balancing, protecting and implementing its own plan. Each primary installation and each locality is extended ample authority so that it can refer to its guidelines and tasks, and the main national norms to exploit all the potentials of production, business and labor units in order to achieve high effectiveness, insure rational distribution, improve workers' livelihood, meet units' requirements of recycling production for expansion, and makes even more contributions to national industrialization.

While pointing out the need to give the primary installations, districts, localities and sectors more authority to master plans, we also stress accordingly the necessity of enhancing the responsibility and duty of all these levels as regards the development of the entire economy and the livelihood of the people throughout the country.

Of the three planning levels, we uphold the priority position and decisive role of national planning. Although formulated first by the primary units, a national plan is not the simple addition of plans by primary units. A national plan must determine the orientation, objectives and common tasks of the entire social economy. It must accurately indicate the sectors and the targeted areas where forces throughout the country must be concentrated. It must truly combine the plans by various echelons and sectors into major balances, main norms and measures of implementation.

To do one's utmost and contribute to fulfilling the national plan must be the duty, conscience and honor of every unit and each worker who exercises his collective mastery.

In the system of short, medium and long-term plans, annual plans and quarterly plans of all levels, the establishments also have their own monthly and weekly plans. Playing the key role, these plans are tools of management that must be flexibly and promptly readjusted according to changes in the socio-economic situation. If all capabilities can be discovered and fully exploited, positive factors can be fostered as soon as they emerge and difficulties can be overcome as soon as they appear, it is due to such flexible readjustments.

At the same time, the 5-year plan, divided into annual plans, plays an increasingly important practical role and gradually advances to become the principal form of planning. In the immediate future, we must urgently elaborate the 1986-90 5-year plan. Defining the socio-economic strategy for the transitional period and the initial stage, formulating projects for the development and distribution of productive forces and elaborating long-term plans are the basic tasks of the planning process that should be seriously promoted to concretize the party line, apply the laws governing the advance to socialism, open prospects and guide the entire process of socio-economic development for a relatively long time.

On all levels, the planning task must be an economic task closely linked with pulsating life and the real socio-economic situation. In carrying out the planning task, we must use diversified forms to attract the active participation of the contingent of economic, scientific, and technical cadres and of large masses of the laboring people, thereby making sure that the plans on each level are truly an achievement of collective intellect.

Economic accounting is a socialist management method applied for establishments and production and business organizations. Each unit must adhere to its plan as the center of activities. Exercising its right to mastery, each unit must calculate economic efficiency, mobilize all of its forces, bring into full play all growth factors and exploit all capabilities through domestic integration efforts through export and import in order to formulate and implement its own plans in the best way possible, achieve financial independence, cover all its own experiences, make large profits and correctly distribute them in favor of all the three interests--those of society, of the unit and of each laborer.

It will not be economic accounting if all the aforementioned factors are not present, such as the use of the plan as the center of activities, the financial independence of establishments, and the satisfactory distribution of profits in favor of all the three interests. To carry out economic accounting, we must establish norms and standards, compile statistics and meticulously calculate efficiency. Economic accounting is not commercial accounting.

For production and business establishments, organizations and sectors, socialist business precisely means the implementation of the economic accounting system. Socialist business also includes the novel ways of thinking and doing of people who exercise collective mastery and who are characterized by their undiminished sensitivity to economic efficiency.

All managerial levels and all managers, from the Council of Ministers, the comrades heading the various sectors and localities, the staff and combat cadres on the economic front down to each laborer, everyone, in performing his own specific functions and duties, must be imbued with the concept of socialist business and know how to conduct socialist business. The State Planning Commission is the general staff for socialist business and the state plans are actually the socialist business plans for the entire country.



If plans are not linked to economic accounting and socialist business, then they are merely the subjective products of bureaucratic management organs divorced from life. If economic accounting does not make plans for the center of activities, then it will lose its nature and its soul and will no longer be economic accounting but simply maneuvers characteristic of guilds and societies. To do business outside the plans is tantamount to veering away from the socialist orientation and extolling the dominating role of the law of value and of the market.

Using concrete methods and forms of planning and defining adequate economic lever policies to achieve the linking of planning, economic accounting and socialist business to suit the initial stage of the transitional period in our country is the direction for renovating our managerial mechanism and planning work. This direction, both in the long run and in the immediate future, calls for overcoming bureaucratism, the practice of subsidization and the tendency to run after the free market. It also calls for opposition to bigoted localism and particularism. This direction means that we must broaden the powers, uphold the responsibilities and increase the benefits of the lower echelons, first of all of the basic units and the districts.

Truly giving financial independence to establishments and truly upholding the right of all localities and sectors to take the initiative in production and business are to boldly and adequately promote the laborer's material interest, considering it is a very important factor among the material and spiritual moving forces of the system of collective mastery. It also means that we must develop the strength of each person and encourage individual initiative in conjunction with bringing into full play the collective strength. Broadening the independence of establishments and promoting the material interest and liberating the creative power of each laborer in parallel with developing the strength of the collective are meant to enable the laboring people to zealously and enthusiastically delve into science and technology, and work with productivity, quality and efficiency. They are also meant to create favorable conditions for consolidating socialist order, enhancing the effectiveness of the legal system and discipline and promoting the mass revolutionary movement, through which cadres must be selected and talents fostered.

Broadening the lower echelons' right to mastery in the economic field is to create necessary conditions for the central echelon to concentrate its efforts on achieving the major balances and firmly control the key elements of social reproduction, the most important building projects and the products of strategic significance to the entire country. The central state must firmly hold in its hands the key elements of the national economy for three purposes: first, to provide guidance over the orientation and activities of the entire economy; second, to meet the entire country's demands for which the central echelon is directly responsible; and third, to insure that the right to mastery of establishments, localities and laborers is broadened--and this is a very important point.

Under the current conditions, in its plan each unit must be able to utilize four sources of material capabilities--the capabilities of the unit itself, the capabilities resulting from economic integration, the capabilities created

by export and import activities and the capabilities supplied by the upper echelons.

Plans must be able to bring into full play the great strength of the application of science and technology, to help renovate economic management, to promote absolute economization and to stir up the people's revolutionary movement.

#### IV. Carry Out the Scientific and Technical Revolution and Socialist Industrialization

The scientific and technical revolution in the world is creating systems of automatic machinery, new sources of energy and raw materials, manufacturing industries, and facilities to control the economy and manage society with unprecedented quality and results.

The scientific and technical revolution is touching all domains of human life and activity and bringing about marvelous progress.

Science, together with technology, is truly becoming a force directly engaged in production. The scientific and technical achievements are materialized not only in equipment, tools and materials but also in the advanced knowledge of operational regulations conforming to the laws of nature and society, modern production means in industry, the link-up measures for intensive cultivation to increase yields in agriculture and new creative methods of economic management.

Many of the advanced scientific and technical achievements can be applied to those countries in which the economic development standards are still low. Developing the superiority of the laboring people's collective mastery system, we can exploit this extremely important capacity of the scientific and technical revolution. We turn the scientific and technical revolution into the key component of the socialist revolution and we strive to create the material, political and social conditions for it to develop vigorously.

We must simultaneously develop the three sciences: the natural, technical and social sciences. We must build men of the new society into knowledgeable and self-conscious men who carry out the scientific and technical revolution. Our motto is to quickly surge forward and master by all means those scientific and technical domains that are necessary and can be acquired in the spirit of mastering by all means all that is required by the country.

We must develop the great creativity of the contingents of scientific and technical cadres, encourage innovations and inventions, select the advanced issues and directly engage in modern technology or in those areas connected with the highest scientific and technical achievements. At the same time, we must also use the achievements of medium size and the necessary manual labor facilities.

However, in the collective mastery system, we can also grasp and apply the advanced achievements to manual labor such as those in the biological

revolution, the regulations on increasing the productivity of cultivation and animal husbandry, modern industries.

Such a scientific and technical revolution is obviously not only the task of intellectual laborers and researchers in schools and institutes but basically it must be the undertaking of broad segments of the masses and must become the regular movement and working habit of tens of millions of workers.

The key role of the scientific and technical revolution is closely associated with the implementation of the central task of the transition period which is the socialist industrialization aimed at building the heavy machinery industry that is capable enough to provide modern technical equipment to the various sectors of the national economy. We must build the network of heavy industries and develop the technical infrastructure, especially the communications and transportation network.

As a result of such a connection, the steps and performance of socialist industrialization are the steps and performance of the scientific and technical revolution.

In the immediate future, while concentrating our efforts on advancing agriculture to a large-scale production through a rational industrial-agricultural structure, we must look ahead and calculate, preparing for the next stage of industrialization. We should clarify the general guidelines and determine the scientific and technical selections concerning each of the sectors such as the biological revolution, engineering, electronics, energy, metallurgy, chemicals, construction materials, communications and transportation and so forth. These selections must stem adequately from the potential of the country concerning each sector and must lend themselves to the appropriate use of advanced achievements.

Concerning a number of decisively significant sectors such as engineering, the economy's nerve center, we must pay attention to the fact that backwardness here will cause technological backwardness in all other sectors and that the longer backwardness is allowed to last, the more difficult it will be for us to overcome it. For this reason, we must quickly advance some decisively significant sectors into modern technology at an early date.

The choice of scientific and technological orientation must be united with the choice of socio-economic orientation. Science and technology must produce optimum economic efficiency and the economy must be modern in terms of science and technology. This orientation must be implemented in the general economic, scientific, technological and social programs serving as the core of the national economic plans. Science and technology are not only the basis of socio-economic activities but also the intrinsic requirement of these activities. In economic management we must introduce progressive scientific and technological achievements into the substance and methods of planning, the lever policies, and the organizational forms so that the new managerial mechanism may employ science and technology as direct productive forces.

Thus, there are two closely related aspects: one is that we must enhance the scientific and technological level of management to insure that decisions on



investment, production, distribution, circulation and consumption are made quickly and correctly; the other is that we must shape a managerial mechanism which really helps promote production through science and technology, thereby making it possible for us to ceaselessly improve products, save on material consumption and achieve high productivity, quality and economic efficiency.

Favorable conditions already exist for us to advance the scientific and technological revolution. The contingent of scientific and technological cadres is increasing relatively quickly. This contingent is approximately 850,000 strong, including middle-level, technical cadres. There are also nearly 1 million skilled workers. The distribution of these cadres is being readjusted along the line of assigning more of them to production establishments.

Many scientific and technological cadres are endowed with talents and quality. The scientific and technological research and management organizations have also rapidly developed, shaping a system from the central echelon to the enterprises and cooperatives. Work in the field of scientific research and technological application has recorded praiseworthy achievements in agriculture, industry, communications, building and basic natural surveys. Tens of millions of laborers in the countryside and the cities, surmounting countless difficulties, have carried out numerous innovations to promote production and have applied the progressive achievements of science and technology.

The scientific and technological capability of our cadres and people has not yet been correctly appreciated and satisfactorily utilized in various tasks ranging from the development of the initiative and creativity of the masses on the spot to work out concrete scientific and technological measures and the concentration of forces on resolving the problems of each sector's scientific and technological development, to the general mobilization of all the contingent of natural science, technological and social science workers in combination with the laborers' intellect to formulate general projects and plans for the social economy.

Our planning methods, management policies and procedures and work organization style have not yet encouraged and compelled everybody to apply science and technology. Worse still, there have been cases in which scientific and technological progress has been rejected in favor of the maintenance of obsolete modes of production. The policies concerning scientific and technical cadres, such as the policies on training, education, creation of conditions and facilities for work and caring for the material and spiritual lives of cadres, still contain many unsatisfactory points.

The basic orientation of the task of renovating the economic managerial mechanism and even the scientific and technological management mechanism is to overcome the aforementioned shortcomings, making it possible for the new managerial mechanism to truly pave the way for science and technology to become an inherent part of all economic decisions and a growth-stimulating factor of the economy. Scientific and technological cadres must be placed in their right positions; they especially must be correctly deployed in production, research and experimental establishments. They must be treated

not mainly according to their degrees and academic titles but must be paid, commended and rewarded according to the socio-economic results of their creative labor in production and life.

This mechanism also insures the mobilization of the participation of tens of million of laborers in the scientific and technological revolution that is taking place daily.

#### V. Achieve Mastery in Distribution and Circulation

Production, distribution, circulation and consumption are the four basic work links in the process of social reproduction. They are dialectically related. Serving as a base, production decides distribution, circulation and consumption. Acting as a linkage between production activities themselves and between production and consumption, the distribution and circulation task has a strong and sensitive effect on production and life. Production decides distribution, circulation and consumption, both in terms of scope and mode.

Distribution, circulation and consumption must be carried out within the limit permitted by production. In order to suit the mode and the level at which production is developed, we must come up with an appropriate mode of distribution and circulation.

Under any circumstance, we must firmly grasp the base--namely, production. Only by achieving mastery in production and accelerating its development can we acquire necessary bases to exercise mastery over distribution and circulation.

Finance, currency, trade, prices and wages are subjects that function in accordance with the general rules of socialist distribution and circulation. Each has its own rules which we must discover and apply in an effective manner. However, during this initial stage, all the rules in distribution and circulation must give in to the basic economic laws of socialism and the law of balanced and planned development.

At a time when the economy is still formed by many components and when the struggle between the two paths of socialism and capitalism is still complex, distribution and circulation will continue to be affected by those economic laws of the small-scale production of goods and of capitalism and we must constantly use the tools of distribution and circulation to conduct the class struggle and guarantee total victory for socialism.

Distribution is made in two forms: in kind and value. Since goods are still produced in socialism, value and its laws still exist. However, the relation between value and use value has changed. Use value is the goal while value is the rule of calculation, the means of distribution, and the leverage to implement plans, account for profits and losses and conduct socialist business. In our socio-economic plan, we place use value and balances in kind in the first rank and, at the same time, emphasize value and balances of value. Distribution must promote the development of production. On this basis, we will rationally distribute and redistribute national revenues and insure the maintenance of basic relations in the economy, especially among the

amounts of income of all strata of people in society. This is mainly the basic function of finance.

In the advance from small production to socialism, the requirement of creating an initial source of funds is a strategic issue being very seriously raised. The source of capital lies in the tasks of firmly controlling and successfully exploiting the rich potential in terms of labor, land and other national resources, the existing material and technical bases and all sectors and jobs.

Along with accelerating domestic production, we must develop economic relations with other countries and accelerate exports in order to achieve socialist accumulation.

The source of capital appears in the very process of material production that is taking place in primary installations.

To obtain increasing sources of capital, we must see that the basic units operate efficiently according to the principles of economic accounting and socialist business. We must resolutely struggle against corruption and waste; against the tendency to create capital by simply running after profits and by arbitrarily inflating prices to collect the surplus revenue; and against the practice of promoting the parochial interest of one's unit while making light of the obligation to make contributions to the entire country.

Production must go hand in hand with economization. We must practice economization in production as well as in consumption. We must restrict consumption within the limits allowed by production. We must firmly change consumption habits that are not proper for the level of development of the economy and for the national tradition of thrift.

Under capitalism, money can buy anything. Under socialism, money no longer has the same position. The decision factor is the use of social labor forces on the basis of the laborers' collective mastery. Money, however, is still a means of organizing labor and production and of linking labor with land to create large quantities of products. Money is also a tool of distribution and redistribution of national income in the form of value amalgamated with the form of material things.

The socialist state must strictly manage the circulation of money, stabilize and strengthen the purchasing power of money, and collect part of the surplus money in circulation, especially the large amounts of money in the hands of dishonest traders, speculators, hoarders and smugglers. On the other hand, on the basis of its mastery in production and in the market, the state can take the initiative in issuing banknotes according to plan to promote production and redistribute the sources of capital in favor of the socialist forces on the condition that it must insure the effective use of money.

The banks must regulate the circulation of money and mobilize idle money for business purposes. The banks must also know how to do business with their money in an adroit manner. Through their business operations, the banks perform their functions of supporting and controlling the production process as well as the distribution-circulation process. The circulation of supplies

and goods, or trade, is an extremely important field of socio-economic activities. As Lenin once said: "The communists must learn trade in order to know how to trade in a civilized manner according to the socialist style." Socialist trade business considers supporting production and the laborers' livelihood, not profit making, as its primary objective.

Exercising mastery in the market is currently the most acute problem of our state. The socialist market represents the organized and planned relations of exchange between industry and agriculture, between the two classes that jointly exercise mastery, namely the workers and peasants. This market is placed under state management and party leadership. The state supply and procurement organizations, through the signing of contracts with producers from the beginning of crop seasons, must organize the sending of supplies and consumer goods to the countryside to promptly satisfy the demands of production and life. This is to enable these organizations to gain control of products right at the places where they are produced, thus saving them the trouble of having to compete in buying and selling in the market.

Socialist trade to include state-run shops and marketing cooperatives must expand the network of retail sales to city wards and villages. We must develop the people's collective mastery to successfully organize distribution and support the laboring people's livelihood. It is absolutely forbidden to use speculators as intermediaries. Only by so doing can socialist trade serve as the rear base of production and as the housekeeper for the whole nation, and correctly implement the fundamental goal of the socialist economy which is to meet the ever increasing demands of the laboring people's material and cultural lives.

The market is where the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths occurs and where our struggle against the enemy happens very fiercely every day and every hour. It is impossible to master production, distribution and circulation and stabilize currency, prices and the laboring people's livelihood if we do not master the market and if we let the free market occupy the socialist market.

The purpose of our policy to maintain five economic elements in some production sectors and jobs and during the first few years of the initial stage of the transition period in the South is to exploit all production potentials and create more wealth for society. However, it does not mean that trade comprises as many components as production.

The socialist state must immediately and quickly unify management and monopolize the dealing in commodities of great significance to national welfare and the people's livelihood, especially food and strategic materials, state-produced industrial goods and other items ordered or imported by the state.

Through the combination of economic, administrative and educational measures, socialist trade must surge forward to control large segments of wholesale and most of the retail sales. We must conduct socialist transformation, eliminate the free market of staple commodities, eradicate the black market, get rid of smugglers and speculators, oppose enemy sabotage, wipe out all forms of

capitalist trade and sever the alliance between urban capitalists and rice farmers, traders and individual peasants. This is a decisive prerequisite to control the market and prices.

We must correctly define the pricing policy and apply the policy of two categories of prices. This also constitutes the struggle to repel the free market and advance toward mastering the market in an ever broader and steadier manner.

In order to master the market, eliminate capitalist trade and transform small merchants, it is decisive that we must strive to develop socialist trade, enlarge its battleground, enhance the quality of state-run trade and pay utmost attention to the organization and development of the role of marketing cooperatives, considering the marketing cooperatives as the effective supporting forces of state-run trade.

In the present economic situation, we advocate the policy of maintaining the free market in a given area of the countryside and cities as places to trade and barter stable products between producers and consumers without the intermediary transactions of speculators.

All the activities of small merchants--including their services--should be tightly organized and controlled and be gradually replaced by socialist trade.

Price is a monetary manifestation of value. Simultaneously, it also generally reflects all fundamental socio-economic relations. Price must first have its value as a base. The true nature of value is the amount of social work force needed. Pricing must be based on rational production cost and price must be controlled and calculated ever more closely and adequately.

Price must guarantee reasonable income and profits for producers. It must also guarantee capital accumulation for each establishment, each locality, each sector, and the entire national economy to carry out expanded reproduction and serve the cause of socialist industrialization.

Price must serve as a means to correctly resolve all relations between industry and agriculture and insure that industry and agriculture can be developed into a rational industrial-agricultural structure.

In-country prices must rely chiefly on the internal relations of the national economy. In addition, in-country prices must be connected with worldwide prices. This is to contribute to expanding economic relations with foreign countries and boosting exports in compliance with the party's and state's foreign economic policy.

At a time when private and individual economic elements still exist, the state-prescribed prices must be instrumental in the struggle to narrow the free market and to oppose these two erroneous tendencies: first, running after the mechanism of the market by using the free market price as a standard to fix the state price, wishing to float the entire system of state price alongside the free market price, and ignoring the fact that the free market is fraught with speculative and sabotage elements and embodied with spontaneous



distribution relations; and second, failing to take into account changes in the economic-financial situation and to meet objective demands of socio-economic relations that have been changed.

Planned prices must constitute a great part of the pricing system in the process of socialist construction. Planned prices must come out from production and not from the relations of supply and demand on the market. This pricing system is designed to guarantee the laboring people's collective mastery system. In general, the central government reserves the decision making right in this area.

In addition to the list of goods with prices fixed by the central government covering all important products of the national economy, the central government must delegate provincial and city administrations the authority to fix the price for those secondary items produced and consumed locally.

To suit the situation of production and trade of certain items of goods, the central government must decide skeletal prices and must allow the related local administrations to do the pricing flexibly within the framework of these skeletal prices.

With our state already controlling all the key economic establishments and the bulk of the products of the national economy, it is fully capable of and mandated to control the prices of those items of goods essential to production and life. On the other hand, during a certain period of time, the state, out of the still-existing imbalances between supply and demand, must promptly exercise the 2-price policy. Beside the portion of stabilized basic prices for those principal products of the state-run economic sector, for those essential commodities supplied to workers, civil servants and the Armed Forces, and for those materials and certain commodities under 2-way contracts between the state and peasants or handicraft workers, there is also a portion of flexibly-directed prices designed to expand socialist trade and compete against the free market, thus contributing to directing and managing the market.

The direction of our efforts is to advance toward applying a unified price system built on rational bases and supported by stable and strong foundations.

The problem of wages and income must be posed and resolved on the basis of insuring that all laborers will be able to bring into full play their right to collective mastery in production and life and that everyone will have work and will work with increasing productivity, quality and efficiency, creating for society a great deal of increasingly better and cheaper use values. Under socialism, wages must be completely governed by the principle of distribution according to labor and must serve as a factor that helps promote production and encourages the laborer to work to the best of his ability to make large amounts of products of good quality and at low cost.

Wages must insure that the laborer can reproduce his own labor power, eat his full, obtain enough clothes, have housing and raise his children. Under the current conditions, resolving the wage problem does not simply mean raising nominal wages according to the fluctuations of free market prices. The

primary and fundamental factor is that we must insure the distribution of a reasonable amount of necessary consumer goods to the laborer. We must, therefore, apply the system of supplying necessary commodities at stabilized prices in order to protect the basic component of the real wages from the effects of the constantly fluctuating market prices. Simultaneously, we should periodically review the portion of wages still affected by price changes to insure the real income of workers, civil servants and the Armed Forces. We must exercise mastery in production and in the market. We must absolutely foil the enemy's sabotage and absolutely not allow speculators, smugglers and traders to make trouble. This is the necessary condition for us to exercise mastery concerning prices and wages; gradually and basically resolve the problems of prices, wages and money; regulate the income of people of various strata to make it fair and reasonable; and practically improve the living standards of workers, civil servants and the Armed Forces, thereby enabling the wage earners to apply themselves to production work and increase their labor productivity with confidence. On this basis, we will create basic conditions for checking and suppressing the negative phenomena in the socio-economic domain, promoting the development of production, arousing the laborer's enthusiasm and making social life healthy.

#### VI. Broaden Economic Relations with Foreign Countries; Step Up Export and Import

Our country is building socialism in a new world situation. The characteristics of the present world economic situation can be summarized as follows:

First, socialism has become a world system and an international community with modern industry and advanced science and technology. Under such a system the division of labor, cooperation and socialist alliance are being achieved on an ever growing scale.

Second, there is in the world a market with two systems: the socialist and capitalist markets coexisting along with the markets of the other sectors. Within each type of market and between these markets, not only is there an exchange of goods and trade activities, but these activities are also interdependent and have an increasingly direct effect on one another.

Third, the fact that the scientific and technical revolution is being vigorously developed is opening new capabilities for men to conquer nature and creating unprecedentedly great production forces. Each developing country can obtain the achievements of this revolution through relatively short paths in order to take its economy toward modernization.

The simultaneous movement of these three factors objectively creates an economic relationship between one country and another and between one group of countries and another group. Associating the economic development of a country with the establishment and broadening of its economic relations with foreign countries is an objective necessity. Each nation is to grow and mature by itself and build an independent and sovereign economy. This signifies developing, to a great degree, a self-sufficient and self-strengthening spirit, fully exploiting the potentials in the country and, at

the same time, developing foreign economic relations. It does not mean, however, resigning oneself to isolation or closing the door to the outside.

Broadening economic relations with foreign countries is to actively participate in the division of international labor, achieve an exchange of labor value, exploit external capabilities and support the construction and development of the national economy. In our country the policy of broadening economic relations with foreign countries is of the utmost importance. To successfully carry out the industrialization of the country, we must strengthen economic relations with foreign countries in order to use the achievements of the advanced science, technology and modern industry of the world most profitably.

As a socialist country and member of the world socialist community, and because our country is closely attached to the fraternal countries since it shares with them the same ideals and has the same social and economic form, we consider our primary task to be our cooperation with the countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, especially the Soviet Union. This cooperation is between brothers on the basis of equality, mutual assistance and benefit. It is a socialist economic alliance, the purpose of which is to accelerate rapprochement in terms of the degree of economic development in the CEMA member countries. To speak of broadening foreign economic relations in order to successfully carry out industrialization of the country, we must, first of all, speak of the relations of division of labor and cooperation with the fraternal countries. Without such a division of labor and cooperation we will not be able to use the general strength of the world socialist economy. The recent CEMA summit conference set forth basic orientations and diversified forms of economic, scientific and technical cooperation which are aimed at raising cooperation between member countries to a greater degree. The conference decided to strengthen the assistance of the Soviet Union and other European socialist countries to our country, Cuba and Mongolia. This is a favorable new condition for broadening the relations of cooperation between our country and the fraternal countries.

Laos and Kampuchea are two neighboring socialist countries. They have entertained special relations with and have had a long history of attachment to our country. Together with us they have formed a special economic zone on the Indochinese peninsula. The interests of each country and of the entire region require the achievement of a special alliance. In broadening relations and mutual assistance in all fields with Laos and Kampuchea, our country must advance toward assuming a key role.

We must also appropriately handle our economic relations with other countries and pay attention to expanding the interchange of merchandise with nationalist, independent and nonaligned countries while achieving a breakthrough in the interchange of merchandise with capitalist countries and removing the embargo imposed on us by the imperialists and expansionists.

The who-will defeat-whom struggle between socialism and capitalism in the world cannot be separated from the struggle on the economic front. But undoubtedly, the existence of the world market as an integrated whole will



inevitably lead to the establishment of economic relations between one country and another.

Our country's foreign economic strategy must be a self-motivated and positive one. We must keep ourselves well informed of the demands of the world market and come up with policies suitable to each particular region and particular country as well as correct policies and flexible organizational forms in order to promote international trade and cooperation. Export, import, economic cooperation, scientific and technical cooperation, service support business and the seeking of loans from international credit funds are popular forms adopted in expanding economic relations with other countries with export--involving the use of all legal forms to create the source of exports--being regarded as a very important element.

Export and import must be regarded as a vital part of the economic structure. To serve the cause of industrialization, we must boldly import what we urgently need, especially technology, equipment, machinery, spare parts and materials. Meanwhile, we must also import a certain part of the commodities essential to the people's lives. In order to have imports, we must promote exports. More exports will allow greater imports. Borrowing is necessary, especially in the initial stage. But borrowing must be followed by repayment. That is why we must seek ways to boost exports, regarding export as a task of strategic significance. Over the past few years our export volume has shown some increase but it is still regarded as slow. The structure of export goods has not been improved for a long time. The kinds of goods exported are still not targeted and the total export value is not high enough.

Because we know very little about the world market because of a lack of timely and reliable information, we must make our greatest efforts to change this situation. The national economic structure must guarantee the creation of major export items of good quality and high value in great and steady quantities that can secure a good market. We can expand the production of export goods by satisfactorily exploiting all the potentials of the country while exercising various forms of economic cooperation with foreign countries, especially with our fraternal socialist countries. This cooperation may range from providing labor services to seeking loans for making capital investments under conditions in which repayment can be made in kind and the promotion of joint business ventures.

Export must truly become a duty of the entire people and of every sector, every locality, every production establishment and every laborer. Our economic structure must guarantee that each laborer can spend 100 mandays for export activities. Only by relying on our strengths in manpower, land, branches and trades to create great sources of export-oriented agricultural products, foodstuffs and industrial goods can we proceed toward reserving one-third of our work force for the production of export-oriented goods in order to attain great export value. We must use millions of people to plant and exploit hundreds of thousands of hectares of rubber, tea, coffee and other short-term and long-term crops. If we reserve one-fourth of the total hog population for export, we can export at least 3 million hogs per year. Naturally, export-oriented hogs must be raised according to special methods and technical standards in order to meet required quality norms.

The state must have incentive policies to promote the production of exports with special treatment given to making capital investments; the supply of grain, food and production means; pricing; fixing the level of income; the authority to use foreign currency; and the problems of wages and bonuses.

The mechanism of export and import management must be flexible. It must guarantee the principle of the state monopoly of foreign trade and foreign exchange while creating conditions for large firms, localities and sectors to establish contact with the foreign market and must promote to the highest extent the increase of exports. We must plan and closely manage all export activities. Through export and import, we must promote all the production activities in the country, trying to introduce modern technology and new management methods in our economic activities in order to attain high quality and good results.

#### VII. Build a New Culture and a New Man

People are the most valuable asset. People's happiness is the goal of the revolutionary cause of our party and people. Our slogan of action is: All for people; all by people. When discussing socialist construction and economic management, we must talk about people, the subject and object of economic management.

In the past the sense of being master of the country and the strength of each patriotic Vietnamese under the party leadership were the decisive factors in achieving the great victories of the revolution and the wars of resistance against aggression. Today, in the cause of advancing small-scale production to large-scale production and building socialism, the sense of self-awareness and the strength of people who exercise collective mastery assume an even more exceptionally important significance. Proceeding from the war-ravaged poor and backward economic bases plus having to cope with a cruel and cunning new enemy next door, it is all the more imperative for our people's cause of socialist construction that the sense of mastery and creativity of the Vietnamese be highly developed.

The central task of the ideological and cultural revolution is to build a new culture and new people. People are the main productive force; their dynamism has a tremendous impact on production and economic management. The new system and new economy decide the formation of the new culture. By the same token the new culture that is being built step by step has a direct effect on the construction of the new economy and the process of perfecting the new system. A product of economy, culture is also a motive force that impetus economy. Under definite conditions culture may take the lead to exert a return influence on the economic process. This exists because when discussing culture one, first of all, discusses people, who are both the product and the builders of society.

The new people, shaped and perfected by the combined results of the three revolutions, are also those who carry out these revolutions. Economic strength cannot be separated from cultural strength and the strength of the people, and the strength of culture and people must be realized in the strength of the economy. To separate economy from culture and people is to

lack a firm grasp of the law of socio-economic development. Originally, culture was labor; the first cultural act was precisely man's labor with its impact on nature. Only labor makes man's existence possible, and where there is man there is culture. Culture is the symbol of the attachment among men. It helps people understand one another and induces the development of fine sentiments in the people in their labor to transform nature and society. The highest culture is that which elevates people to the position of masters of society, of nature and of themselves, and which implements the principle "One for all and all for one." This is the objective of the construction of the new culture.

The socialist content and nationality of culture must fruitfully and vividly reflect the sense of collective mastery. Fundamentally, socialist content and nationality is one thing. The ability of our nation, a nation with fine cultural traditions must be developed in socialism to further beautify socialism. Socialism enables the elite of the nation to truly harmonize with Vietnamese life and with each family of fraternal nations that have been siding with one another in the cause of national defense and construction. The new culture must cultivate patriotism, be combined with proletarian internationalism, and associate the fate of one's nation closely with that of nations in the world in the defense of peace, national independence and social progress. That is the culture of collective mastery.

The culture of collective mastery brings community in the national traditions to a higher stature. At the same time, it creates conditions for every individual to fully develop his ability and intelligence. New men--workers who exercise collective mastery, love to work, have much compassion, and respect truth--constitute the goal of the new culture.

Labor is the first quality of men who exercise collective mastery. This is labor with self-awareness, creativity and an ever-higher sense of responsibility. Socialism returns human value to man, which is reflected in its most condensed form by man's role of mastery in creative labor to build a new life. Men who exercise collective mastery are entitled to mastery and know how to be masters, primarily in their daily activities to bring about results for society, collectives and themselves.

Working according to one's ability and receiving distribution according to one's labor is a simple truth through the fundamental ethical principle of socialism. Only by working and through labor to build socialism can we gradually establish good human relationships and make great compassion flourish, compassion that is a noble quality of the Vietnamese people. Patriotism, attachment to one's home, altruism and self-love are great sentiments that beautify the person, lifestyle and culture of the Vietnamese people. This great compassion should be fostered and upheld in the relations of the collective mastery system. New men who love to work and have much compassion are those who respect and can see truth.

To master the course of building a new society, the laboring people must not only cherish this cause but also thoroughly know the law of its development. Enthusiasm alone cannot advance small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. Mastery can be achieved only adequately when man has

the ability to exercise mastery and, with self-awareness, rise up to be master.

One of the dangerous offensive spearheads of all enemies is to deprave and degenerate man by inciting selfish, lazy and base sentiments and lifestyle. We must remain vigilant against their insidious plots. We must prevent, repel and gradually eliminate these harmful influences on our ethics and lifestyle.

Mistakes of the socio-economic management task, especially in distribution and circulation, have also been an important cause that have bred and further worsened the negative manifestations in cultural and spiritual life.

By satisfactorily achieving harmonious relations among the various interests and by linking interest with responsibility and obligation, the new socio-economic management mechanism must vigorously contribute to building a new socialist lifestyle and new socialist people. To promote the process of socio-economic development, we must bring the strength of the collective and the strength of each person into full play. This is precisely a gradual implementation of Karl Marx's thought that each man's free development is the condition for all men's free development.

Defining the position of each man in the collective mastery mechanism and successfully developing the talents and quality of each individual to satisfactorily implement the right to mastery of each laborer in terms of obligation and interest is the correct way to insure the strength of the collective mastery system.

We must create a mechanism that clearly reflects the fact that the individual, the family and society are an objective being. The laborer exercising collective mastery must be the embodiment of the harmonious relations among the individual, the family and society. Love of labor, demonstration of bountiful affection and respect for reason are the basic qualities that should be fostered and perfected to enable man to gradually become the master of nature and himself and close in on and take hold of the right, the good and the beauty of living. Collective mastery is precisely the right, the good and the beauty of the highest order that each man is striving for in modern times.

#### VIII. Meet the Needs of Life and Accumulation of Capital To Achieve Industrialization and Insure National Defense and Security

Because the socialist collective mastery system and social production are established on the basis of public ownership of the means of production, they essentially lead to the fundamental and regular goal of production, which is to meet, ever more adequately, the material and cultural needs of the people. To attain this goal, production must constantly develop on the basis of an even better technical system. As a result, an accumulation of capital to carry out socialist industrialization and build the material and technical bases of socialism also become essential.

Moreover, we must clearly realize that we are building socialism at a time when our country has gained independence and freedom. However, the outside enemies have not renounced their plots of aggression. They continue to

sabotage us and threaten to wage war. Consequently, the requirements of national defense and security are also regularly and urgently raised. Moreover, as long as socialism has not triumphed throughout the world, many societies of different political systems--imperialism and expansionism--and wars and the causes of war still exist, the issues of national defense and the fulfillment of national defense requirements are still posed to each country.

Raising the living standard, accumulating capital for construction and insuring national defense and security are the three types of essential objective requirements that should be taken into account in all socio-economic plans.

In each revolutionary stage and given historical period, we can proceed from the specific situation to establish priorities in order to satisfactorily fulfill these requirements. However, we would make a mistake if we absolutized a requirement that leads us to belittle or overlook the other requirements. On the immediate path of socialism in our country, since the material and technical bases are still poor and the level of production development is still low, it is not easy to fulfill all three requirements at one time. Furthermore, we must clearly see the urgency of these three types of requirements and their close correlation so that we can determine the guidelines and measures to fulfill them.

National stability primarily lies in the fact that the people can live plentifully and healthily. However, if we live from hand to mouth without practicing thrift to accumulate capital and without carrying out industrialization, there can be no socialism and, finally, it will be impossible to raise the living standard. Nor will there be socialism if national independence cannot be firmly maintained and if we stress only fulfillment of the people's material and cultural needs while making light of and then degrading the need to meet the requirements of national defense and security.

Facts have shown that we can certainly and simultaneously fulfill these three types of requirements. Previously our people did not have enough to eat. We even had to rely partly on foreign countries to maintain our consumption funds. With such rates of economic development as those in recent years, we can clearly see our ability to produce enough food and advance toward accumulating some capital.

In national defense, we are striving to insure the fulfillment of troops' vital needs. Although the national per capita income is still low, we can always fulfill the minimum requirements of the people and the country if we know how to successfully operate management and distribution and if we know how to practice thrift rationally. We must resolve the livelihood problems on the basis of developing the collective mastery of the laboring people throughout the country in each locality and each primary installation.

The principle of distribution according to labor must be observed and properly implemented: those localities, units and people who work better, with high productivity and effectiveness, will have to receive higher income and enjoy better living. Egalitarianism in distribution is an erroneous trend



unfamiliar to Marxism-Leninism. We must recognize the plurality of various aspects of life. At the same time, we must pay utmost attention to constantly increasing the social welfare benefits and collective benefits which workers and their children should receive equally.

Rationally resolving these welfare benefits along with distribution according to labor will create a powerful driving force. While generally caring for the livelihood of the people nationwide, we must give specific attention to ethnic minority compatriots, strive to develop the fine traditions and the revolutionary capabilities of the compatriots of the various nationalities and exploit the great strengths of the midland and mountainous regions in order to promote uniform economic, cultural and social development. From this we will increase the developmental level, improve the livelihood of the compatriots of various nationalities, and promote their increased contributions to the cause of national construction and defense.

Improving the people's livelihood is a key problem in the basic economic law of socialism. Preserving national defense and security also constitutes a law of revolutionary struggle dictated by the current situation in the world. Judging from their targets, these two laws are not opposite each other. Instead, if correctly applied, they will be favorably interactive and mutually supplemental.

National defense strength is a combined economic, political and military strength. Linking the economy with national defense and vice versa means building the economy and national defense into a rational structure. We must strengthen the economy enough to insure strong national defense. Similarly, we must strengthen the national defense enough to protect the economy, thereby providing security for economic development.

All annual and long-term socio-economic programs must reflect a thorough awareness of the four targets set forth at the 5th Party Congress and of the task of struggling to oppose the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage.

We must insure that, while concentrating on carrying out the economic construction task, the country remains in a position of high combat readiness and is ready to develop the most powerful combined strength of the war of national defense once the enemy wages a war of aggression. In this direction we accelerate economic construction in order to meet the requirements in connection with the people's welfare, capital accumulation, national defense and security. We must build a national defense industry, insure logistic support and create a strong rear area for the people's war.

National defense and security forces must fulfill their duty of defending the country and maintaining security in the service of economic construction while using part of their work force and their material and technical bases to participate directly in economic construction and development. Every sector, echelon and unit must accurately evaluate and thoroughly realize all enemy sabotage schemes and actions, especially on the economic front; be determined to take effective measures to prevent and counter these sabotage schemes; and consistently carry out plans for safeguarding production, enterprises, work sites, machinery, supplies and raw materials.



The linking of the economy with national defense and vice versa must be carried out on a national scale as well as in each territorial area, each locality, each province, each district, each village and each ward. This must involve activities ranging from the arrangement of an economic and national defense structure to the distribution of the work force, preparation of specific plans for production and combat readiness activities. It may also organize on-site logistic activities and implement the policies of having the Armed Forces engaged in economic construction and economic establishments engaged in manufacturing national defense merchandise as well as those policies in connection with the people's security, army rear services and so on.

Because of our country's position and its exceptional situation, our Armed Forces must maintain a number of regular troops large enough to fulfill the duty of defending the fatherland. By devoting part of their time and effort, including part of their machinery and equipment, to carrying out economic construction, they will be able to create an important production potential for themselves.

Facts show that national defense industrial firms are fully capable of manufacturing economic goods requiring high technology covering both production means and consumption means. Except for units directly in charge of combat missions, no matter where they are stationed, troops can participate in various production activities ranging from carrying out agricultural cultivation and animal husbandry for self-sufficiency to building various projects in accordance with the state plan involving afforestation, farmland irrigation and road and housing construction. Those army units specialized in economic construction can take charge of larger projects for the agricultural and industrial sectors. The idea of taking up arms to fight when the enemy arrives and undergoing training and engaging in economic construction when the enemy is not around has become a national tradition and a typical feature of our Armed Forces.

#### IX. Establish a Mechanism of Party Leadership, People's Mastery and State Management

Party leadership, people's mastery and state management are the three closely attached links that form a single entity. The party leads so that the people may exercise mastery--this is the historic mission of the party and, at the same time, the objective necessity of the collective mastery system. Without the party leadership, the laboring people will not be able to exercise their right to collective mastery. The laboring people exercise mastery mainly by means of the state under the party leadership.

The three links of the collective mastery mechanism lie in a single entity, each link having its own unmistakable, separate position and functions. The party is a component of the people, but it is the most progressive component of society. Being the leader means that the party must set forth correct lines and policies reflecting the laws of society and the people's interest and that, through mass organization and motivation work, it must draw the people into performing revolutionary deeds.

Being the masters means that the people build and manage life in all respects by themselves in conformity with the requirements of the laws in order to satisfy their own material and cultural needs. The people's mastery finds expression in the mass revolutionary movements in all fields of social activities.

The state is the representative of the laboring people's right to collective mastery. Being the manager means that the state must concretize the party's lines and policies into the state's laws in order to organize the masses' revolutionary actions.

The laboring people also exercise collective mastery through the various revolutionary mass organizations. These organizations are responsible for and have a major effect on the masses' education in lines, policies and the sense of mastery and on guiding the masses in bringing into full play their active role in socio-economic management. If we correctly build the mechanism of party leadership, people's mastery and state management, we will be able to create an aggregate strength of the system of dictatorship of the proletariat and stir up a vigorous mass movement to successfully achieve the cause of socialist construction and national defense.

The laboring people exercise collective mastery in all fields throughout the country. The mechanism of party leadership, people's mastery and state management must run through all aspects and all fields of activities of society, all managerial levels and all regions of the country to insure the comprehensiveness of the collective mastery system.

The state plays a particularly important role in this mechanism. The state is closely linked with the party and submits to its regular and strict leadership. At the same time, the state is the laboring people themselves, who are organized in an administrative structure. The state administers management and implements the party's leadership and the people's right to mastery. This character must be reflected in the functions, duties, organizational structure, operational procedures and work methods of the state as well as in the thinking and work style of administrative cadres.

Our state has two closely related functions: protective and constructive. In view of the scheme of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists who, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, are waging a multifaceted war of sabotage to violate our national independence and undermine our socialist construction, our state must ceaselessly apply itself to national defense and security work and build firm and strong instruments of protection such as the army, public security forces, courts of law and so forth to smash all attempts of sabotage and aggression from the outside and all counter-revolutionary acts of hostile elements inside the country.

Our state's primary functions are to organize the economy and culture and build socialism. Our state is steadfast and has much experience in economic and military struggle. When it comes to building socialism, more precisely to building the economy, our state has displayed numerous weaknesses. Therefore, in building a collective mastery system, we must pay specific attention to

building the administration if the party's socialist revolutionary lines are to be successfully carried out.

The state must serve as a sharp and effective tool of the proletarian dictatorial system to develop the laboring people's collective mastery, simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, and successfully build a new regime, new economy, new culture and new socialist men.

With policy lines set by the ruling party, the state must serve as the organizer and also practitioner of these policy lines in all dimensions--width and depth--trying to translate them into the reality of life. In managing an economy that is in the process of taking shape, the state must simultaneously carry out, in a satisfactory manner, the two tasks of building management objectives and managing these objectives which are under gradual construction. Only with satisfactory management can we correctly carry out construction, and only with correct construction can we satisfactorily carry out management.

As a representative of the laboring people's collective mastery in economic management, the state must exercise control over production means, land, forests and sea areas; over the growing number of industrial and agricultural production establishments; over the work force in the entire country and in each locality and each establishment; and over the process of production and social reproduction. It must redistribute and use manpower rationally, link the work force with production means, produce ever greater amounts of material wealth and control all the products turned out by the national economy. This is to distribute them in accordance with policies in order to meet the needs of the entire society and of each member of this society.

Representing the laboring people in the control of the entire economic system, the state must direct economic activities in accordance with a unified plan and legislation. To control the economy, the state must establish an appropriate organizational structure capable of insuring that the state can serve both as an administrative and economic management entity and as a production and business management apparatus.

Administrative and economic management and production and business management are the two sides of economic management which are closely bound together but not mixed up. To satisfactorily perform the economic management task, the state must strive in such a way as to bind together these two sides of economic management. The state machinery and the economic apparatus must be combined into one with two kinds of organs--namely, administrative and economic organs--ranging from the Council of Ministers to various ministries and committees at all levels--and those production and business management organs at various enterprises, united enterprises, united corporations and the like.

The organizational structure of the state must be linked with that of the economy. The state apparatus must be organized in such a way as to suit demands dictated by the economic structure as well as those patterns that are decided by this economic structure. The organizational and operational patterns of the state apparatus must reflect those of the economic structure. We cannot establish this or that organization without taking into account the

organizational and operational demands of the economy. Meanwhile, we must also avoid simplistic tendencies such as refusing to establish new organizations when there are requirements to do so.

From the central to the grassroots levels, the state must be constructed in accordance with the institution so that it can serve as a true representative of the people's mastery and as a state of the people, from the people and for the people. This apparatus must lie within the people--within the entire political, economic, cultural and social life of the people.

To insure correct economic management, the state apparatus--ranging from the National Assembly, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers to the people's councils and people's committees of the various provinces, cities, precincts, districts, villages and wards--must be correctly organized with clear-cut functions and authority and must insure mastery over the economy at the three levels; namely, the national, local and grassroots levels. It is here that we must delineate duties, divide authority, assign responsibilities and distribute benefits in a clear-cut and precise manner.

The economic structure is a living body rigged with a great many complex horizontal and vertical connections. The state apparatus must combine sector management with regional and territorial management and general management with economic-technical sector management. In performing their functions, the general and specialized ministries, the central ministries and the local people's committees must closely coordinate with and complement each other as the organs of a single body under the centralized guidance of the Council of Ministers.

The administrative and economic management of the Council of Ministers and the various ministries as well as the committees at all levels must create conditions for production and business establishments to bring their capabilities into full play. To achieve this aim, correct policies and procedures must be set forth to catalyze the creativity of establishments. On the other hand, the production and business establishments, in their practical activities, must actively participate in administrative and economic management and make suggestions to the state on problems concerning policies and procedures.

State management is management by law. On the one hand, we must oppose bureaucratic centralism; on the other hand, we must strictly maintain the legal system, uphold discipline, and resolutely combat the phenomena of lack of organization and discipline and violations of state law. As the law enforces, state organs and cadres must abide by the law all the more scrupulously. The state apparatus, from the central to the grassroots levels, from the various administrative echelons to the organs directly in charge of production and business management, must maintain close contact with reality and life, be sensitive to the new, quickly discover and support the masses' initiatives, and promptly correct erroneous and deviant phenomena.

The state's managerial work must reach each economic establishment, each population center, each family, each laborer and each citizen. The state must insure that each laborer has a job and works with productivity, quality and

efficiency so that he may enjoy stable and gradually improving living standards and contribute to the accumulation for national industrialization. The state must be responsible for looking after the aged and children.

A correct collective mastery mechanism alone is still not enough. A contingent of good cadres is needed to correctly implement this mechanism.

Cadres decide everything--this fact is already proved in practice by various progressive model units. Our party has a contingent of cadres who were tempered and tried in the state of national democratic revolution and the wars of resistance and who have gained initial experience in socialist revolution. Generally speaking, however, our cadres still lack knowledge of and the capability for socio-economic management. Management is both a science and an art that we must learn, partly from books but mainly from practical experience. A very important, urgent, and decisive task of the cadre work is to actively train socio-economic management cadres from the central to the grassroots levels through practice, review of experience and study of progressive models.

The quality of cadres is a regular major problem. It is necessary to affirm that the great majority of our cadres are of fine revolutionary quality. In economic construction, many of them have grown and accumulated experience. However, in the new stage of the revolution, in view of the new challenges of peace time economic building, not a few cadres, owing to a lack of training, have slackened in their fighting will and revolutionary ardor and have committed errors concerning quality, such as corruption, seeking private gain and promoting personal interests. Worse still, many, tempted by material interests, have become degenerate and deviant and have committed the crimes of exploitation, bribery and bullying the masses.

These errors, especially among the ranks of responsible cadres at various levels, have seriously violated the masses' right to collective mastery and hurt their economic and political interests. These errors are currently a big obstacle to the implementation of the party's lines, the state's laws and the laboring people's collective mastery mechanism.

For this reason, along with boldly promoting cadres who show capability and quality and who have been tested, we must eliminate cadres who have become degenerate and deviate and lost all the confidence of the masses, expel from the party elements who no longer qualify for party membership and prosecute those who have committed serious crimes. We should arrange for the masses to make suggestions to the party periodically concerning cadre work, criticize and evaluate cadres and make proposals concerning the deployment and promotion of cadres.

The party's cadre work must be carried out in a planned manner to build a contingent of cadres that can truly meet the requirements of the revolutionary tasks and the cause of socialist economic and cultural building. We must completely re-evaluate the existing contingent of cadres and formulate plans to train it and to form a reserve contingent. We must correctly deploy and use cadres according to their individual talents and strengths. We must adopt a correct policy of remuneration to encourage and develop the capability of



each person. We must seek out persons endowed with managerial capability in order to place them in charge of production and business sectors and establishments or to train them to be able experts in each field of work.

#### X. Use the General Strength of the Revolution

In the anti-French war of resistance, implementing the line of all-people, all-round resistance, our people created great strength to achieve victory.

In the anti-U.S. war of resistance, using a higher level of aggregate strength, our people vanquished the biggest aggressive imperialist power of our time. Using aggregate strength is a science, a revolutionary art consisting of combining the strength of our country with that of our time; military strength with political, economic and cultural strength; the strength of military struggle with that of political and diplomatic struggle; the strength of each person with that of each hamlet, district, province and the entire country; and the strength of the three categories of forces, three strategic areas, and three-prong attacks. Knowing how to use a combination of all forces and all forms of fighting, we were always in a position of flexible initiative, won one victory after another and finally achieved total victory.

Building socialism from an economy largely based on small-scale production, our party must utilize the aggregate strength of the country and its economy from the beginning. The basis of aggregate strength exists objectively in things themselves. The universal relationship among things requires a comprehensive examination of each thing and treatment based on its relationship with other things. This is a principle that the method of dialectical materialism has confirmed. It is in conformity with this principle that the sciences of our time, on the basis of the progress achieved in the past stage of analysis, are advancing to the stage of synthesis. This also holds true in the history of society. Mankind is advancing to the era of the laboring people's collective mastery, an era in which history unfolds not spontaneously but self-consciously, requiring that all problems be resolved in conformity with the combined movement of various kinds of laws.

Our party's revolutionary line reflects the law of combined movement of the various kinds of socio-economic laws and scientific laws that are governing the revolutionary process in our country. Holding fast to the dictatorship of the proletariat; bringing into full play the laboring people's right to collective mastery; simultaneously conducting the three revolutions; and building a new system, a new economy, a new culture and a new type of socialist man represents the application of a combination of laws governing the relationship between productive forces and production relations; between economic establishments and the superstructure; among political, economic, cultural and social fields; and between national traditions and the very best features of our time.

Building a rational economic structure right in the initial stage of socialism is in conformity with the relations of mutual influence and great aggregate strength between heavy and small industries and agriculture, between central and local economies and the grassroots units, between domestic and foreign economies and between economy and national defense. Building the system of



collective mastery is to build a social system that harmoniously associates the relations between mastery of society, mastery of nature and mastery of oneself; between political mastery and economic, cultural and social mastery; between nationwide mastery and mastery in each locality and establishment; and between the community and the individual.

Our line of economic construction reflects the objective general relations, allowing us to create an aggregate strength to successfully build socialism. Organizing the implementation of lines and transforming correct lines into vivid realities in our country must also be a combined effort of the entire party and people.

The economy, especially one in the process of advancing from small production to large-scale socialist production, evolves in accordance with a general rule.

If we fail to firmly grasp and apply this evolutionary rule when directing activities of the entire economy as well as when resolving certain specific problems, we will certainly be confronted with contradictions, imbalances and even chaos that may impede the development of the economy and other areas of social activity. Therefore, every sector, echelon, locality and establishment must rely on its respective actual situation to apply the general policy lines and the economic line in order to tackle its economic problems as well as other problems uniformly if a combined strength is to be created in order to move our revolutionary undertaking forward in a dynamic and flexible manner.

Dear comrades, this time the Party Central Committee's plenum concentrates on discussing and deciding on a number of important problems regarding economic and social management, trying to resolve those problems which are both fundamental and pressing in order to achieve at all cost those goals and tasks set forth at the 5th Party Congress. To achieve this aim, our plenum must hold discussions together in order to reach a high unity of mind over those matters in connection with policy lines and concepts and those principle matters of the socialist revolution in our country. Only by relying on this basis can we correctly work out a basic course of action and various important and urgent steps for the renovation of economic management.

From this unity of mind, we must motivate the party, people and the Armed Forces to show their enthusiasm and unite their minds and actions, trying to effect a change for the better in the economic and social situation in order to advance the cause of national construction and defense.

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## THE USE OF COMBINED STRENGTH, A MAJOR LESSON OF THE REVOLUTION

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[Article by Vinh Nghiem]

[Text] In his speeches at the 5th and 6th Plenums of the Party Central Committee, Le Duan stressed: "The basic lesson we have learned regarding the achievements recorded in the recent past has been the lesson in collective ownership and the use of combined strength." "To build socialism from an economy in which small-scale production predominates, our party must utilize the combined forces of the country and the economy in order to achieve tremendous strength from the very outset."

The dialectic, the science of universal interrelationships, tells us that things and phenomena within nature or society are bound one to the other, that they have an impact upon and influence one another. The existence and development of one thing or phenomenon are dependent upon the existence and development of another thing or phenomenon which, in turn, has a reciprocal impact and influence upon the thing or phenomenon dependent upon it. All things and phenomena arise and develop in accordance with common laws; at the same time, separate laws govern the development of each thing.

Consequently, "to truly understand a thing, it is necessary to view it in totality and study all its aspects, study all its interrelationships and 'indirect relationships.' While we can never do this completely, the need to examine each and every aspect will prevent us from making mistakes and being inflexible."(1)

Of course, the relationships and reciprocal impact among things and phenomena are varied, are extremely broad and complex. Every process of development is usually the result of many causes, of the impact of many relationships: direct relationships, indirect relationships, internal relationships, external relationships, natural relationships, accidental relationships... These relationships can never exert an impact in the same direction nor are all of their impacts of equal importance. Some relationships have a decisive impact upon the existence and development of a thing or phenomenon while others are of less importance and some have an impact in the opposite direction.

These relationships and impacts are not "immutable," rather, they are constantly evolving, developing and changing in the face of specific historic conditions.

Therefore, the essence of utilizing combined strength is to have clear and conscious knowledge of, control and employ those factors that have a favorable impact upon the evolution and forward development of a thing or phenomenon; to thwart and effectively repulse those relationships and impacts that impede or go against the development of a thing or phenomenon; and to periodically determine which elements within the system of relationships and impacts are most important and correctly resolve any problems regarding them, considering them to be the nucleus, the main element in achieving as much as possible from the relationships involved in and the impacts upon the continuous development of a thing or phenomenon.

Lenin taught us: "To be a revolutionary, to be one who endorses socialism or a communist, in general, is not enough. During each special period of time, we must determine which link is the special link that we must control with the full measure of our energies so that we can control the entire chain and prepare ourselves to move on to the next link; moreover, the order in which these links are arranged, their form, the relationships among them and the characteristics that distinguish one link from another in the chain of historic events are not simple, nor are they as plain as the links in a chain made by the hand of a blacksmith."(2)

The leadership of the communist party, the birth of the dictatorship of the proletariat state and the start of the effort to establish the system of collective ownership gave the working class and laboring people the ability to consciously act in accordance with objective laws. These are the first prerequisites to the conscious development and use of combined strength by the laboring people in their role as the masters of the country.

Our entire country is advancing to socialism under favorable conditions; however, we also face more than a few difficulties and obstacles, as a result of which the course we are following is sometimes unavoidably hard and complex. Ours is a backward economy, an economy in which small-scale production still predominates; moreover, the economy bears the deep scars of the more than 30 years of the fierce and destructive war and has borne the burden of two wars to defend the fatherland against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and their reactionary lackeys in the space of roughly 10 years. Many difficulties are being encountered in production and everyday life and the economy is seriously imbalanced. In many areas of economic organization and management and social management, we are in a process of searching for new ways while building and, in some areas, we are still weak. The socialist industrialization of the country is only in the initial stage. At many places, negative phenomena within socio-economic life are increasing. The struggle between socialism and capitalism is a complicated and bitter struggle, especially in the field of distribution and circulation. A number of capitalist factors have exacerbated our weaknesses, taken advantage of our negligence and encroached upon the position of socialism. At some times and places, our objective difficulties as well as our subjective shortcomings and weaknesses have been used by the enemy in a vain attempt to oppose our

people's revolution. Life is confronting us with pressing requirements that must be met. In the face of this very difficult and complex situation, employing combined strength in order to successfully complete the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland becomes a matter of even more important and pressing significance. This is the best way to build from our small, decentralized and dispersed forces a powerful, combined strength to bring to the struggle to achieve the goals that lie along the path to socialism. It will cause the potentials that lie in the labor, arable land, natural resources...of the country to be developed and utilized in an effective manner and in the interest of the development of each installation, each locality and the entire country. It will give rise to new factors which, although generally very weak at first, will not only be gradually developed by local forces, but will also be cultivated and supported by the forces at many other places and throughout the country, as a result of which these factors will be quickly confirmed, will quickly grow, multiply and be improved upon in keeping with the line of the party. In contrast to the type of ownership practiced by the exploiting classes of past years, whose ownership had as its prerequisite depriving others of the right of ownership, socialist collective ownership demands that the right of ownership of all members of society be guaranteed; the successful exercise of ownership by one person is the necessary prerequisite to guaranteeing the right of ownership of others and the proper exercise of ownership by one level is the prerequisite to the successful exercise of ownership by other levels. These are the basic conditions that must be established to insure the conscious utilization of the inherent combined strength of socialism. They are also the conditions needed to combine the spirit of self-reliance with making good use of the assistance provided by the international community. Consciously building and employing combined strength, this is the revolutionary method by which we can quickly correct the state of weaknesses, decentralization, fragmentation and lack of coordination in which we find ourselves, tap the dynamism and creativity of each locality and develop upon the role played by the central level in providing centralized and unified organization and management. At the same time, these are also the conditions that we must have in order to achieve the socio-economic objectives set by the 5th Congress of the Party for the present stage of the revolution.

In our leadership of the development and management of socialist society and the socialist economy, we must give special attention to creating and using the combined strength that lies in the fundamental relationship among leadership by the party, the exercise of ownership by the laboring people and management by the state. The first component of this combined strength is the strength of the party, the political leadership core of all society. The party must have a full knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and possess the deepest and most comprehensive knowledge possible of the realities of the country. It must consist of and only accept into its ranks the most outstanding elements of the working class and laboring people, persons who represent the highest level of revolutionary awareness in society. It must adopt correct lines on the socialist revolution, on building the new economy, on building the national defense system and on the other fields of life during each specific period of the socialist revolution in our country and be able to lead the state and other organizations within the dictatorship of the proletariat

system in implementing these lines in everyday life. These are the most decisive factors in moving the entire apparatus of the socialist system and propelling all of society forward.

As the embodiment of the power of the working class and laboring people, the state is the most effective and the main tool through which the state exercises its leadership of the entirety of social life. It is the state that directly organizes the implementation of the party line, directly organizes and manages the economy, directly manages society. In this function, the state is also an important and very good tool in organizing the masses, upholding their right of socialist collective ownership and strengthening the ties between the party and the masses. The strength of the state lies in its ability to organize and manage. An important portion of the strength of the party's leadership lies in the ability of the state to organize and provide management. Well coordinated administrative, legal, organizational, economic, cultural, educational and other measures, these are the strong and highly effective tools employed by the state to implement the lines and policies of the party and perform the tasks set forth by the party. This is the base of a strong dictatorship of the proletariat.

Building the new, socialist society is an undertaking of great difficulty and complexity, is the undertaking of the people themselves once they have won the right of collective ownership. "The vibrant creativity of the masses, this is the basic factor of the new society... Socialism is not the result of decrees from above...building living, creative socialism is the work of the masses themselves."(3) The masses become better able to exercise their revolutionary strength in a positive manner as their level of political awareness, their cultural, scientific and technical standards are raised once they have been liberated socially and truly become the masters of their destiny. The strength of the masses is guaranteed by means of the system of mass political, economic and cultural organizations that operate under the leadership of the party and the active management of the state. Through suitable modes of activity, the laboring masses participate in increasingly large numbers in the state's management of the economy, politics, ideology, culture and society. The reorganized creative strength of the masses combined with the correct and effective management activities of the state are the prerequisite to the launching of intense, strong revolutionary movements of the masses to turn the lines and policies of the party and state into tangible strength, into living reality.

Our party has pointed out that the strength of the people exercising ownership must be manifested in the exercise of ownership on all three fundamental levels: the central level, the local level and the basic level. Within the system of socialist collective ownership, the entire country is a unified entity and each locality and basic unit is an integral and inseparable part of this whole. The proper exercise of ownership by each level is a necessary prerequisite to the effective exercise of ownership by the other levels. Within this relationship, the exercise of socialist collective ownership on a nationwide scale is the most important factor, is the most decisive factor in the building of strength. The exercise of collective ownership on a nationwide scale is the unique attribute of socialism. It permits us to utilize the advantage afforded by centralism and unity centered around the



plan to manage the economy, manage society and regulate socio-economic processes throughout the country. It permits us to mobilize and employ the strength of the entire country in the construction of the material-technical bases of socialism and in resolving national socio-economic problems. At the same time, it permits us to tap the initiative and creativity of the localities and installations, permits us to effectively develop the potentials that lie in local labor, land, sectors and trades and accelerate the process of agglomeration within localities and installations. Le Duan has stressed: "Coordinating the unity of state activities under the leadership of the party with the broadest possible display of initiative and creativity by the masses, this is the law of development of our system."(4) It is also the important combined strength that we have for performing the strategic tasks of the socialist revolution in the present stage. A correct relationship between the exercise of ownership on a nationwide scale and the exercise of ownership within each locality and installation makes it possible, under certain conditions, to use forces of a national nature to resolve problems of decisive significance of each locality and use the forces of each locality to concentrate on resolving the vital problems of each installation. This inevitably yields positive results in terms of the contribution made by each locality and installation to building increasingly large and effective forces for socialist construction throughout the country. The realities of socialist construction in recent years have proven that this is a prerequisite to the birth of key projects not only of the country, but of each locality and installation as well. It also represents an advantage that the system of socialist collective ownership affords in the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

In socialist construction and the defense of the socialist fatherland, our people are firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat and simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution. By so doing, they are manifesting the combined strength of the revolution while actually creating and developing upon this strength. This, too, is a law in the development of the socialist revolution in our country, is what the various sectors and levels are doing on a practical, day to day basis to create and strengthen socialist factors and repulse backward, non-socialist factors. Our party has frequently pointed out that be it the new society or the new man, new production relations or the new, socialist production forces, a new product or a new economic sector, a new look to a locality or a new look to the entire country, they all must be the result of the combined strength of the three revolutions. Le Duan has said: "Each product that is produced, be it by industry or agriculture, not only embodies the sweat of those persons who produced it and the mental efforts of scientists, technicians and persons working in the fields of culture and art, but also the blood of soldiers. Even the growth of an individual locality or installation is the result of this combined strength."(5)

Our combined strength is the strength of developing and using each potential of the country in coordination with establishing good international cooperation and broadening this cooperation. Our country lacks a large-scale machine industry, the "backbone" of socialism, suffered heavy damage in the



more than 30 years of the savage war waged by colonialism, both old and new, and must today contend with the wide-ranging war of sabotage being conducted by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. What must we do in order to effectively carry out the strategic tasks set by the party? We must, of course, defend the fatherland and build socialism through the steadfast efforts of our people. However, another very important factor is that we must know how to make use of the objective circumstances of our times. These are the existence and assistance of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. Lacking this strength, we cannot even talk about advancing to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. Of course, we must also give thought to the development of economic-technical relations with other countries, including the developed capitalist countries, on the basis of the principle of firmly maintaining our independence and sovereignty and the principle of mutual benefit. However, the issue of strategic significance to our country's revolution is that of strengthening our unity and full-scale cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and the other fraternal socialist countries while seeking the support of and unity with the forces of revolution, democracy, peace and progress in the world. Herein lies a tremendous strength for countering armed intervention and each scheme of aggression of the imperialists and Chinese reactionaries and for successfully building socialism. In order to make effective use of this tremendous socialist international assistance and cooperation, we must also know how to develop each potential of the country in a manner that reflects a high degree of self-reliance. If all of these factors are put together in a conscious and correct manner, they will bring important capabilities to the cause of revolution within our country.

It is precisely the thinking, viewpoints and specifics regarding the use of combined strength that the party's general line on the socialist revolution, its line on building the socialist economy and its other lines reflect. Of foremost importance in building and employing combined strength in all aspects of life and throughout the country is the need to thoroughly understand the lines, positions and policies of the party and state and implement them in a correct, creative and effective manner.

Our party's line does not treat politics, economics, culture and society as separate entities, does not isolate each component of the revolution as a separate and distinct field. The party's line on the socialist revolution is an entity within which there is unity among objectives, means and measures, between the economic base and the superstructure, between production forces and production relations, between the economy and national defense, between transformation and construction, between subjective dynamism and the impact of objective circumstances, between cause and effect. Combined strength arises from the simultaneous birth, development and reciprocal impact of these factors.

These factors are closely coordinated with one another, they regulate, permeate and have an impact upon one another, with each factor being both the cause and the result of the other. Under the economic line, combined strength emerges from closely tying industry to agriculture from the very outset within a unified structure; coordinating the central economy with the local economy in a manner that is well balanced; formulating plans on all three fundamental

levels: the national level, the local level and the basic level in accordance with accounting and socialist business procedures and on the basis of use value as well as value itself and the law of value; establishing unity between the development of production forces and the establishment and perfection of the new production relations; closely coordinating the economy with the national defense system and vice versa; and coordinating the division of labor within the country with the development of the overseas economy, primarily with the development of our economic relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist community. These are also matters in the nature of laws in the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production in our country by means of combined strength.

Le Duan has stated: "We can only successfully complete the extremely difficult historic task of leading our country from small-scale production directly to socialism by achieving success in the creation of a combined force of the socialist revolution. The general line and the line on building the economy are this necessary combined force. These lines tap the strength of national independence and socialism, develop the existing capabilities and potentials of the country and permit us to make full use of the new capabilities of our times by closely tying our country to the Soviet Union and the socialist community, to the three revolutionary currents."(6)

Many of the weaknesses and shortcomings that we have seen in recent years have been caused by a failure to thoroughly understand lines, the failure to concretize lines or concretize them correctly. At the same time, they have been partly due to weaknesses in organization and management, as a result of which we have been unable to achieve the combined strength of the socialist revolution and have even seen cases in which one sector or level poses obstacles to another and acts in a manner contrary to the interests of socialist collective ownership.

On the basis of the lines, positions and policies of the party and state, organization and management play an extremely dynamic role in the creation and use of combined strength. They are a type of practical work that is very broad in scope, is very complex, detailed and sophisticated. Improving our ability to organize and manage the economy and society is truly becoming the most important and pressing task in the present stage of the revolution in our effort to achieve combined strength. In this work, we have attached very much importance to improving our ability to formulate plans, adopting correct socio-economic strategy and organizing the implementation of the plan, the second platform of the party, well. To achieve combined strength, we must adhere to and correctly apply the principle of democratic centralism, the principle of balancing the various interests and the art of tapping the revolutionary dynamism and creativity, the self-awareness, the sense of organization and discipline and the spirit of collective ownership of each sector, each level, each locality, each installation and each laborer. Correct and effective organization and management are manifested in the achievement of the combined strength of the socialist revolution.

To create combined strength, we also need to have a thorough understanding of what is involved in the coordinated, systems approach so that we can insure that the various relationships, objective factors and subjective activities of

man have an impact at the same time and in the same, positive direction upon the thing or phenomenon in question. In organizing implementation, the effectiveness of the coordinated, systems approach demands that there be unity and balance among objectives, means and measures in order to achieve stated objectives, that the organizations and factors of a system be coordinated in a close, rational and scientific manner to insure that each of these organizations and factors truly has the impact it is intended to have and helps to create a combined strength, instead of impeding and nullifying one another, so that established objectives can be achieved during each period. Thus, we must take into full consideration all objective conditions, all existing and future material-technical bases and, at the same time, know how to generate dynamism, make correct evaluations and realistically coordinate existing conditions and the development of potentials. We must take into full consideration every aspect of the factors and reciprocal impact of ideology, organization, economic measures, administrative measures and education while giving attention to the function, position and special characteristics of each factor at each given time and place. We must have a general overview of things while focusing our efforts on effectively resolving the most important problems in order to bring about positive changes in the general situation.

The use of combined strength is the science of employing, through actions taken with complete awareness of what is being done, those capabilities and factors that have an impact upon the course of development of a thing. This awareness is reflected in correctly understanding and acting in accordance with objective laws to correctly resolve the problems of the socialist revolution within our country during each period. To deny the existence of objective laws and not take objective conditions into full consideration in one's thinking and actions are detrimental to socialism and make it impossible to achieve combined strength within the revolution. The socialist revolution, in general, is a process of activities conducted with a high degree of awareness. The socialist revolution in our country demands a very high degree of awareness as we advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. Discovering, creatively applying and consciously acting in accordance with laws are the important aspects of revolutionary activity. They are of even greater importance in the present stage of the revolution in our country, a stage in which socialist construction and the defense of the socialist fatherland confront us with very difficult and complex problems. Therefore, while underscoring the need to respect objective conditions and seriously apply the objective laws of the socialist revolution, our party gives full attention to tapping the revolutionary dynamism of the laboring masses, considering it to be the fundamental moving force in the revolution's use of combined strength.

In the achievement of combined strength, the establishment of forms of organizations, measures and stages of development and the system of party and state regulations and policies plays a very large role. Reality has made us profoundly aware of the fact that combined strength does not exist in some abstract form nor is it an objective in and of itself, rather, it exists as a specific impact upon the tasks of the revolution, upon the effectiveness with which these tasks are performed. Whereas it is important to have a correct understanding of objective laws and set the tasks of the revolution, it is also very important to adopt suitable forms, measures, regulations and

policies and gradually put together a rational system that serves to guide and regulate specific actions in all areas. In some respects, this work is more difficult and complex. Nowhere are the awareness, creativity and sensitivity of the revolutionary needed more. Of course, all efforts to research, discover and establish forms, measures, regulations and policies designed to achieve the combined strength of the revolution within each area, within each sector, each locality and on a nationwide scale must be consistent with the specific historic conditions that exist during each stage and cannot be divorced from the realities of the revolution, from the revolutionary movement of the masses. It is from within the spirited revolutionary activities of the masses, especially within the localities and installations, that innovations, that rational and scientific forms and measures emerge. The task of revolutionaries is to guide, integrate, verify, perfect and develop upon these experiences and innovations. The resolution of the 6th Party Plenum points out: "...Under present socio-economic circumstances, we are capable of bringing about a strong change in socio-economic life by gaining a thorough understanding of the correct line of the party and giving it concrete expression in the form of a rational economic structure and a suitable management system that vigorously uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people within each installation, locality and sector and mobilize the combined strength of the entire country." By working hard with this as our guideline, we will advance our people's revolutionary undertaking to a new level of development.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, Volume 42, p 364.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 252.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 35, p 64.
4. Le Duan: "Cach mang xa hoi chu nghia o Viet nam," [The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Volume II, p 449.
5. Speech by Le Duan at the 5th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee.
6. Le Duan: "Thau suot hon nua duong loi cua Dang trong chang dau cua thoi ky qua do," [Gaining a Better Understanding of the Party's Line in the Initial Stage of the Period of Transition], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1983, p 24.

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DISTRIBUTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH LABOR IN THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE PERIOD OF  
TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 84 pp 48-54

[Article by Tran Ho]

[Text] Every mode of production has a corresponding form of product distribution. Distribution is one of the aspects of production relations that is determined by who owns the means of production.

Under the socialist system, the entire social product, both the necessary product and the surplus product, serves the interests of workers, either directly or indirectly, in the immediate future or over the long range. The necessary product is distributed to workers in accordance with the principle of distribution in accordance with labor.

Distribution in accordance with labor uses labor as the measurement, as the standard for distribution to the worker. Under this principle, persons who are able to work must work in order to be distributed products that are produced and the amount of products distributed to them is determined by the quantity and quality of the work they contribute to society. Those who perform much work, receive much; those who perform little work, receive little; and those who are able to work but do not, receive nothing. However, this does not mean that every worker directly receives precisely the same quantity of products he produces, rather, the worker is only distributed a portion of the product he produces. Lassalle's position that the worker must receive "the entire product of his labor" is completely illusory and reactionary because it would make it impossible for society to survive and develop.

Production determines distribution and distribution and consumption can only take place when there is production; however, distribution does have a very important impact upon production. On the basis of this viewpoint, Marx pointed out that it is first of all necessary to take a portion of the gross social product to replenish the means of production that were consumed in production in order to continue the production process and accumulate capital for expanded reproduction. At the same time, it is necessary to establish a reserve fund or insurance fund to guard against times when accidents occur.



The allocation of such funds is totally necessary from an economic standpoint as is the need to establish a fixed assets depreciation fund and a production fund at enterprises in order to provide for the restoration and development of production.

Under socialism, it is also necessary to establish social spending funds in order to expand welfare services. Therefore, part of the product produced must be allocated to the formation of social spending funds, such as a general management fund, a fund to meet educational and public health needs and a social relief fund to support those persons who are unable to work. Marx said: "That which the producer loses as an individual is regained, either directly or indirectly, as a member of society."(1)

The majority of the consumer product is distributed directly to the worker in the form of wages. "Thus, the producer--once the various expenses have been deducted--receives for himself a product equal in value to that which he supplied to society."(2) However, as Marx said, socialist society is only the low stage of development of communist society, is a society that has "just emerged from capitalist society; and, therefore, it is a society that, in every respect, economically, ethically and intellectually, still bears the imprints of the old society from which it emerged."(3) Therefore, within socialist society, although socialist production relations are established and constantly expanded, the level of development of production forces is not truly high and differences in the technical skills and productivity of workers as well as between mental labor and manual labor, between complex labor and simple labor still exist. In terms of awareness, within socialist society, although labor is viewed as something honorable by society, it still has not become the paramount need of man, rather, it is still a means by which each worker provides for his daily needs. Besides the new, socialist attitude toward labor that has come into existence along with the new ethical viewpoints that have been adopted, attitudes of the old society still remain: laziness, avoiding work, not truly wanting to work, contributing only a little but demanding much in return, not working at all but wanting to enjoy the fruits of the labor of others, etc.

All of these socio-economic conditions combine to make distribution in accordance with labor an objective necessity within socialist society.

Distribution in accordance with labor is the distribution of personal consumer goods to the worker on the basis of the quantity and quality of labor contributed by each person to society. It represents the implementation of the principle of material interests, of closely tying personal interests to the interests of society to encourage the producer to concern himself with the product being produced, heighten his sense of responsibility toward his work and clearly show him the relationship between the fruits of his labor and his income. Distribution in accordance with labor also encourages the worker to raise his cultural, scientific and technical standards, improve his skills, make technological improvements and raise his labor productivity. The proper implementation of distribution in accordance with labor creates the conditions for organizing and stabilizing the labor force of production units, thereby helping to stabilize the corps of skilled technical workers and eventually eliminating the irrational transfer of labor from one job to another. It also



creates the conditions for the state to distribute and utilize labor in a planned manner. Only through distribution in accordance with labor is it possible to compel able-bodied persons who are unwilling to work to participate in labor. At the same time, it also provides favorable conditions for forging the sense of responsibility and labor discipline and struggling against the thinking of exploiting labor, of disdaining labor, thereby helping to educate and mold the new man, helping to establish the new culture.

Socialism creates the conditions and the objective need to implement the distribution of personal consumer goods in accordance with labor. Distribution in accordance with labor is an economic law of socialism. It is the fairest, most rational and most equitable form of distribution in the history of mankind. This law requires that the workers within socialist society pay equal prices for the personal consumer goods distributed to each producer without any discrimination based on sex, age or nationality.

Because of the many vagaries of history experienced by our country and the many unique aspects of the development of our revolution, the extent to which we have been able to implement distribution in accordance with labor has been greatly limited.

In the North some years ago, because we were carrying out socialist construction amidst a war, we tried to meet the basic needs of each member of society while implementing distribution in accordance with labor. Millions of farmers put on soldiers' uniforms, left their production jobs behind and departed for the frontlines, thereby making it necessary for society to institute rationing in the distribution of grain to agricultural laborers and even their families.

As regards manual workers and civil servants, in addition to their wages, the state also distributed a number of essential consumer goods through rationing.

Our country's economy suffered heavy damage in the long and savage war, consequently, our efforts to partly improve the standard of living of cadres, manual workers and civil servants through the wage fund have also been limited. Today, some consumer goods must still be distributed on the basis of subsidized prices.

In view of our special historical circumstances, a consumer goods distribution policy such as the above mentioned policy of the party and state was both necessary and correct. This distribution policy helped to strengthen national unity, especially unity among farmers, mobilized the nation's manpower and materiel for the sacred war of resistance and insured that we would win a great victory in the resistance against the United States for national salvation. These are facts that must be reaffirmed by us. However, the historical circumstances of the country at that time which forced us to meet the basic needs of each member of society also gave rise to an attitude of relying upon, of depending upon the state which, in turn, led to sweeping subsidization in production, business and everyday life.

In the new stage of the revolution, improvements to the distribution system should have been made earlier; instead, policies on prices, wages and so forth

that are rigid, unsuited to the actual situation and characterized by heavy subsidization have been allowed to remain in effect within economic management in a manner reflecting conservatism and inertia. Distribution based on subsidization lacks the internal economic factors needed to stimulate higher labor productivity and the development of production. Because revenues always equal expenditures under subsidization, the following economic situation occurs: production is carried out at any price, production costs are not computed, no attention is given to economic efficiency, no thought is given to whether or not a profit is being earned and any losses that might be incurred are borne by the state. Accounting is perfunctory and does not accurately reflect the efficiency of production and business. As a result, workers lean upon one another, no distinction is made between good workers and poor workers, everyone relies upon the collective, upon the state and manifestations of distribution based on averages assume increasingly serious proportions.

Within the collective economy, distribution based on subsidization led to a number of negative phenomena: cooperative members were not concerned with production, they relied upon others to get the work done, no distinction was made between good workers and poor workers, enthusiasm for work was lacking and good workers received the same amount for their work as poor workers. The failure to plow fields and transplant and fertilize crops on time resulted in harvests falling short of the plan each year. This was one of the main reasons why agriculture developed slowly for a long period of time.

Within state-operated industry, we have also failed to give appropriate attention to and establish satisfactory distribution for skilled, highly productive workers who produce many products for society. As a result, we have thwarted the desire to make technological improvements and increase the output and quality of products at enterprises. The differences between the various rungs of the wage scale are very small, consequently, the wage scale does not encourage technological improvements and the development of production. Due to this system of subsidization, enterprises do not practice economy in the use of live labor or embodied labor and this has led to the slow development of industrial labor productivity and output.

To implement distribution in accordance with labor in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, we must give attention to the following several matters:

Distribution in accordance with labor is being carried out under the circumstances of an economy that still consists of many different segments.

At present, the state-operated and collective segments of the economy are observing the principle of distribution in accordance with labor but the private segment of the economy has a mode of distribution that corresponds to production relations based on the private ownership of the means of production. Within the private, capitalist segment of the economy, product distribution is based on the bourgeoisie's ownership of investment capital. Workers earn their wages by selling their labor. These wages are the price of their labor and the worker within this segment is still being exploited by the bourgeoisie. Of course, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the rights

of the worker are protected by law and the bourgeoisie may not treat workers as they did in the old society. The farmers and handicraftsmen within the small-scale, private economic segment are remunerated on the basis of the results of their personal labor.

Thus, in view of the fact that our economy still consists of many different segments, there continue to be many different modes of distribution within our country. Besides state planning, which is the primary instrument in the distribution of labor among enterprises, among the different economic sectors and areas of the country, the movement of labor among the various economic segments, production units and businesses still occurs, to some extent, as a result of the impact of the wages and real income of workers. As a result, state-operated enterprises must take steps to organize their labor and firmly stabilize their labor force, especially with regard to technically skilled workers and workers who possess highly developed manual skills. They must not allow technically skilled workers to quit their jobs at the enterprise and go to work on the outside for private employers.

Distribution in accordance with labor is being carried out under circumstances in which the economy is still basically in a state of small-scale production.

Our people have recorded noteworthy achievements in transforming and building the national economy. Some key, heavy industrial installations have been established and the consumer goods industry is gradually being built. Agriculture is developing well and important advances have been made in the other sectors of the economy. However, our country's economy is still basically "in the grips of small-scale production." In economic terms, our country is still a developing country. Social labor productivity is low and the economy is seriously imbalanced. The gross social product is increasing slowly; national income is still small; only a minimal percentage of the product produced is available to replenish the energies expended in production; and the amount of surplus product that can be used to accumulate capital for expanded reproduction is still very small. Consequently, the quantity of consumer goods that can be allocated for distribution to workers in the form of wages is also very limited. On the other hand, our country's economy suffered heavy, extensive damage in the long and violent war. Now, our country is the target of a wide-ranging war of sabotage being conducted by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. As a result, improvements to the living standard of cadres, manual workers and civil servants, a very important part of which occurs through the wage fund, have also been limited. Today, a number of essential consumer goods must still be distributed at subsidized prices (the state must still incur losses through the budget for nine essential goods and a number of non-rationed consumer goods that are sold at stable retail prices). This is a necessary and correct policy of our party in view of the fact that our country's production is still at a very low level of development.

However, there has recently been an incorrect tendency to demand the "immediate abolition of subsidized prices for a number of essential goods." The realities of the past 3 years have proven that it is truly illusory and incorrect to try to resolve economic difficulties merely through prices. In view of the facts that the economy is underdeveloped, the market is unstable,

strong price changes are taking place and the relationship between the supply of and demand for essential goods is imbalanced, we have no choice but to temporarily accept subsidized prices for a number of essential goods for cadres, manual workers and civil servants. In essence, the essential goods supplied under ration standards and at stable prices to cadres, manual workers and civil servants are a form of wages, the purpose of which is to guarantee a portion of the real wage. Therefore, for the foreseeable future, it is very necessary for our state to maintain a two price policy.

The division of social labor is still at a very low level of development and the technical labor of the sectors and trades is increasing slowly.

The production forces within our country are still underdeveloped and the division of social labor is still at a very low level of development. Therefore, the technical labor of the various sectors and trades is also underdeveloped. This serves to direct our attention to the need for the wage policy to stimulate the development of the technical labor force of the sectors and trades, to provide incentive for the technical labor of the sectors and trades, especially those sectors and trades that are newly established but which show major prospects from the perspective of the building and development of the national economy so that wages truly provide for the replenishment of the energies expended on the job by wage earners, maintain a rational relationship among the different sectors and trades and maintain the nationwide uniformity of the wage policy. Attention must be given to distinguishing between ordinary labor and strenuous labor, simple labor and complex labor and manual labor and mental labor in making improvements to the wage policy to strongly stimulate the development of production.

We must combat distribution based on averages and thoroughly implement distribution in accordance with labor.

In the process of establishing distribution in accordance with labor, we must resolutely oppose distribution based on averages because it is totally contrary to the requirements of the law of distribution in accordance with labor, to the principle of material interests. Distribution based on averages is a manifestation of the petty bourgeois concept of socialism. Those who endorse distribution based on averages have the utopian and mistaken view that "equality" under socialism is absolute. They mistakenly think that, under socialism, everyone must be distributed precisely the same products, even though the quantity and quality of the labor contributed by each person to society differ. Distribution based on averages has discouraged producers from displaying activism on the job, resulted in less concern for making technological improvements and, therefore, thwarted the development of production.

On the other hand, there is also a need to criticize the views of only emphasizing material interests, only pursuing shallow, immediate interests, not being aware of long-range, common interests and separating one's personal interests, even placing them in opposition to the interests of society. Persons who hold these mistaken views do not realize that personal interests must be subordinate to the interests of society, that only by strengthening

and developing the interests of society can the personal interests of workers be satisfied in a manner that lies within the scope of socialism. And, once the interests of society have been violated, have been eroded, "gutted" and undermined, the legitimate interests of the individual worker cannot be guaranteed either.

In view of the fact that our country is advancing from an economy in which small-scale production predominates directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, the implementation of the principle of distribution in accordance with labor assumes even greater importance. It is a lever and one of the very important forces stimulating the development of production, stimulating the advance by the economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. The more thoroughly distribution in accordance with labor is practiced, the greater is the effect it has in stimulating the construction and development of the socialist economy.

This has been proven through the implementation of Directive number 100 of the Secretariat of the 4th Party Central Committee on "product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers" within agriculture. During the past 3 years, the productive labor movement has become a widespread and intense movement in the rural areas of our entire country, intensive cultivation has been promoted and labor productivity has been raised, thereby helping to increase the output of grain by an average of nearly 1 million tons per year. These results have been due to the revision of a number of specific policies regarding product contracts and distribution within agricultural cooperatives as well as the implementation of distribution in accordance with labor with attention to the material interests of laborers.

The situation presented above proves that the selection and establishment of correct economic forms to give expression to objective economic laws are of immeasurable importance in the present transformation and development of the economy.

The consumer goods distributed to workers consist of many components, the most basic of which is wages, which must constitute the major portion of the income of workers. However, in the recent past, the bonuses paid at many enterprises have been many times higher than the basic wage of workers and the income provided through welfare funds has, at some times and places, been about as large as the basic wage. This is something that is irrational and must be corrected.

While implementing the principle of distribution in accordance with labor, we can never neglect to correctly implement the policies concerning persons who have retired, persons who have stopped working for health reasons, wounded and ill soldiers, the families of war dead, families who have served the revolution, the elderly and disabled who have no one to support them, etc.

Along with carrying out distribution in accordance with labor, it is necessary to provide a good program of ideological education for workers and raise their socialist awareness. Ideological education must be viewed by us as very important work and cannot be given light attention. Our society only recently emerged from the old society; therefore, we still find more than a few ideas

and habits of the old society, such as an unwillingness to work, fraud, sloppy, careless work, the theft of public property, conspiracy, bribery, black marketeering, smuggling and so forth in order to earn an income higher than everyone else. These bad habits and ways of thinking must be condemned and attacked at their source in conjunction with cultivating the new spirit of work, the spirit of living through one's own labor, through the fruits of one's labor, establishing the thinking of socialist collective ownership and molding the new, socialist man.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Critique of the Goethe and Erfurt Programs," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1957, p 23.
2. Ibid., p 24.
3. Ibid.

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## LONG AN'S INITIAL ACHIEVEMENTS ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 84 pp 55-61

[Article by Le Van Kien, secretary of the Long An Provincial Party Committee]

[Text] Less than 3 years after the South was liberated, the people of Long An Province had to contend with a savage war on the southwestern border unleashed by the Pol Pot clique, the lackey of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. In 1978, the people of our province had to overcome the serious aftermath of unprecedented flooding and an infestation of planthoppers that destroyed their crops during 3 consecutive seasons. As a result, the province's agricultural output seriously declined and industry stagnated as a result of the shortage of supplies and raw materials.

In the face of this situation, our provincial party committee provided the people with determined leadership in quickly overcoming the aftermath of the natural disasters and enemy attacks and making every effort to reorganize production, develop each potential lying in our labor and arable land, increase agricultural and industrial production and provide jobs to laborers. The province made appropriate investments of capital in materials, fertilizer and water conservancy projects in order to promote intensive cultivation and raise crop yields within agriculture. Thousands of hectares of wilderness were turned into cropland and thousands of hectares of one crop rice fields were turned into fields producing two stable crops per year. Positive steps were taken to provide supplies and raw materials by balancing the four different sources in order to restore and develop industry, especially small industry and the handicraft trades, with primary emphasis on promoting the development of the production of such consumer goods as cloth, sugar and so forth, with a view toward stabilizing the standard of living of the people.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and government, our province made every possible effort to overcome its difficulties. In only a short period of time, with the support of the central sectors and neighboring provinces, Long An contributed to the victory over Pol Pot and recorded a number of encouraging economic results.

In 1980, Long An, a province that once experienced continuous crop failures and whose people lacked sufficient food, produced 436,150 tons of grain, an

average of 400 kilograms per capita. In 1983, grain output reached 510,770 tons, an average of 456 kilograms per capita. The production of industrial crops has increased with each year. Jute production rose from only 785 tons in 1980 to 1,938 tons in 1983. Sugarcane output rose from 233,855 tons in 1980 to 328,396 tons in 1983. Once processed, this sugarcane is enough to provide a full supply to the people of the province. Pork output has also risen rapidly: from 6,349 tons in 1980 to 6,516 tons in 1981, 6,694 tons in 1982 and 8,200 tons in 1983.

In a manner closely linked to accelerating the development of production, our province has attached importance to the socialist transformation of agriculture. As of June, 1984, Long An had 1,300 production collectives and 9 agricultural cooperatives representing 40 percent of the farm families and 44 percent of the farmland of the entire province.

In industry, cloth output has increased considerably, from only 2.2 million meters in 1980 to 3.2 million meters in 1981, 3.5 million meters in 1982 and 4.7 million meters in 1983. Table sugar production has increased from 1,351 tons in 1980 to 4,633 tons in 1981, 7,100 tons in 1982 and 6,121 tons in 1983. In addition, our province has supplied 93,000 tons of sugarcane to the central level. Fish sauce production reached 1.3 million liters in 1980 and rose to 1.7 million liters in 1982 and 2.6 million liters in 1983.

Although the figures presented above are not very high, we have very much respect for and take a great deal of pride in the achievements that the laboring people of our province have recorded under especially difficult and complex circumstances.

In conjunction with reorganizing production in order to continuously develop agriculture and industry, our provincial party committee became determined to improve distribution and circulation. We realize that production determines circulation but that circulation has a very important impact upon production. At any particular point in time, the circulation of a number of products has a decisive impact upon production. Moreover, for many years, due to administrative management and subsidization, agricultural and food product procurement prices failed to compensate for production costs and the procurement of products from the state could not be smoothly carried out. Because the procurement of incoming goods fell short of the plan, we did not have enough goods to sell. Socialist commerce, confused, in a passive position and unable to fulfill its basic function, stood still and operated within the limited scope of supplying a number of rationed goods to manual workers and civil servants, which it also found very difficult to do, not to mention struggling to achieve control of the market and prices.

With the consent of the central level, Long An has been conducting a pilot project in the improvement of distribution and circulation for the past 4 years. Through the improvements made to distribution and circulation, production within our province has been stimulated and its development has been properly oriented. During the past 4 years, the output of grain and other agricultural products has increased markedly with each passing year. Much progress has been made in the procurement of goods for the state. From 1981 to 1983, our province exceeded its plan quotas on the procurement of

agricultural and food products. As a result of centralizing the supply of goods under the unified management of the provincial people's committee, we have properly executed two-way contracts with farmers, provided the goods needed for trade with neighboring provinces and supplied goods to the central level in accordance with our plan while supporting export activities well. On the basis of the actual situation, we have researched and applied a number of matters in the nature of laws within distribution and circulation in a manner well suited to the specific circumstances of Long An.

To begin with, the organizations of socialist commerce have achieved control over goods and begun to employ commodity-money relations in business. Only by organizing the production of goods is it possible for goods to circulate and be consumed. However, for many years, although goods were being produced in relatively plentiful supply at many places, state stores still lacked these goods to sell to consumers. One of the important reasons for this was that the state did not control the vast majority of goods. Therefore, Long An, after establishing its control over production, organized and established control over the flow of goods. In particular, it has centralized sources of goods in order to provide the material conditions for state-operated commerce to try to gain control of the market. The supply of goods in Long An is produced by the locality and balanced by means of trade with other sources, including imports, which consist of both means of production and consumer goods. Instead of being divided up to make many different sources of goods, all of these goods have been centralized within one source. Thus, the business organizations of the sectors on the provincial level are no longer stocked with materials for distribution under their separate plans; therefore, the problem of the supply of materials to farmers being spread out among many different sectors has been eliminated. Putting the supply of goods under the centralized, unified management of one agency and distributing goods under a single plan have provided an effective, tangible means for restoring order within distribution and circulation and created the conditions under which state-operated commerce can work to gain control of the market. The advantage of unifying the source of goods is that it makes it possible to achieve a combined and concerted strength, one that has a decisive impact upon the market and prices; at the same time, it eliminates the decentralized, fragmented and small-scale style of business that wastes material resources and goods.

Like a number of other localities, Long An used to trade goods of one type for goods of another type, that is, materials and consumer goods were traded for agricultural products with farmers at a set rate. Under this form of trade, the state supplied some means of production and consumer goods to farmers while procuring from them a specific quantity of agricultural products. This form of two-way trade had many drawbacks: the state provided farmers with products that they did not need in exchange for their agricultural products and, because they did not need these goods, farmers sold them on the market and, in essence, became merchants. The supply of goods provided by the state was decentralized among many business organizations in many different sectors that employed many different methods of procurement. This form of trade led to competition in the procurement of agricultural products, pushed prices up

and not only had an adverse impact upon market management, but also disrupted the cooperative relations among the business organizations of state-operated commerce.

After studying this situation, Long An improved the procurement of grain and the other types of agricultural products by initiating contracts under which farmers are supplied with means of production in advance. The procurement organizations of the state enter into contracts with cooperatives, production collectives and farmers by supplying them with materials in advance and receiving grain and other agricultural products from farmers at harvest time at the rate of exchange stipulated within the contract. What sets us apart from the other localities is that we do not include consumer goods within these contracts, thereby limiting the number of farmers operating as merchants and enabling the state to centralize the sources of consumer goods in order to stabilize commodity prices on the market. The procurement of agricultural products under contracts that supply means of production in advance is suited to the conditions of our country's agriculture and is consistent with the remarks made by Le Duan in his speech at the 5th Party Plenum: "The state must make arrangements with farmers...institute contracts to supply means of production...organize the procurement of agricultural products at their source under contracts that either supply materials in advance in exchange for agricultural products later or provide for agricultural products to be procured first on credit with goods being supplied later."(1)

Last year, the quantity of grain procured by this method amounted to 84 percent of the total amount of grain procured. The surplus agricultural products of farmers were procured by commerce organizations in cash at prices 5 to 15 percent lower than market prices depending upon the specific product.

When we began to implement the new system, procurement activities had an immediate effect in organizing and controlling the sources of agricultural products. During the 1980 summer-fall season, 25,276 tons of grain were procured, 2.5 times more than during the 1979 summer-fall season. Between 1 December 1980 and 19 February 1981, that is, in the winter-spring season of that year, the province mobilized 32,602 tons, nearly 20,000 tons more than during the previous winter-spring season. During the final 4 months of 1980, 905 tons of hogs were procured, 1.7 times more than during the first 8 months of the year and 3.5 times more than in 1979; some 3 million duck eggs were procured, 40 times more than in 1979; and 675 tons of peanuts were procured, 3.3 times more than during the first 8 months of the year, thus bringing the total quantity procured during the year to 822 tons, 270 percent of the plan and three times more than in 1979.

From 1981 to 1983, our province completed each of its agricultural procurement plans. The quantities procured were as follows:

<u>Product</u>	<u>Unit</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>
Grain	ton	74,200	77,700	118,100
Hogs	ton	2,692	4,440	7,005
Peanuts	ton	1,003	1,150	1,980
Jute	ton	230	829	1,070

Our main difficulty in the procurement of agricultural products is that we lack industrial goods. Many more agricultural products could have been procured had we had a plentiful supply of industrial goods, especially means of production and agricultural materials.

From 1980 to 1983, all plans on the supplying of products to the central level were completed, with the quantities supplied increasing with each year:

<u>Product</u>	<u>Unit</u>	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>
Grain	ton	3,500	36,100	47,700	57,000	106,000
Hogs	ton	68	950	1,945	2,508	3,885
Sugar	ton		400	1,207	2,606	1,918

Abolishing administrative management and subsidization is not easy. Success can only be achieved by overcoming the conservatism and inertia of old habits. We attached importance to and have applied the law of value on the basis of the fact that money and goods still exist under socialism, especially the fact that our country is in the initial stage of the period of transition and the economy still consists of many different segments. State-operated commerce organizations have set relatively reasonable procurement prices for agricultural products and retail consumer prices by calculating how much it costs to produce goods, applying the policies of the party and state regarding distribution and circulation, studying the relationship between supply and demand, calculating the purchasing power of the various strata of the province's population, calculation the volume of money in circulation on the market, studying the relationship between goods and money and so forth. The organizations engaged in circulation operate their businesses on the basis of a plan and economic efficiency, use the income of business installations to pay the costs they incur, make rational use of capital and always operate at a profit.

As regards manual workers and civil servants, our province has taken a wide variety of positive and flexible measures in recent years to maintain their real wages and stabilize their living conditions in exact accordance with state policy. On the basis of the policy on supplying essential goods under ration standards and a number of other goods on a non-rationed basis to manual workers and civil servants, we conducted a study and gradually established normal trade in society.

In the process of making improvements to distribution and circulation, our province has given its attention to the development of socialist commerce while carrying out the transformation of private commerce. All districts have a commerce corporation, general merchandise stores, marketing cooperatives and a district agricultural supply corporation. The district commerce corporations have local stores and have developed a network consisting of many sales points. Closely tied to the agricultural production collectives are marketing cooperatives with 396 sales points, which have been established in every village and competently support state-operated commerce. The vast majority of marketing cooperatives are serving as agents in the procurement of agricultural and food products for state-operated commerce.



The development of socialist commerce has enabled us to achieve good results in the transformation of private commerce and in market management. By coordinating economic, administrative and educational measures, with primary emphasis upon economic measures, our province has gradually transformed private merchants, begun to use and manage them, waged a determined struggle against negative phenomena and effectively managed the market. Through the improvements made to distribution and circulation, the business activities of state-operated commerce and the marketing cooperatives have been widely developed at a relatively rapid rate and some skilled, activist small merchants are being utilized as sales or procurement agents. In Long An, private commerce in rice, pork, sugarcane, sugar and the means of agricultural production has been virtually abolished. There are no longer any bourgeoisie doing business in commerce.

However, in recent years, the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce has continued to be characterized by a lack of timeliness and quick response. At some times and places, market management has not been closely guided and transformation has not been closely coordinated with construction. At times, we have failed to keep abreast of the market situation and goods have been improperly priced, especially in areas that border other provinces, where there is a large difference between our prices and free market prices, as a result of which private merchants continue to buy and resell goods. The material-technical base of state-operated commerce is still weak. Although the network of marketing cooperatives has developed, it is not strong enough to manage the last rural market well.

Our province has managed to achieve the results presented above because of the following factors:

We organized the development of production and, having gained control of production, put goods under state control.

To begin with, we clearly recognized that in order to be able to take the initiative, we had to control goods, beginning with the goods produced within the province, and had to obtain goods in addition to those supplied by the central level by trading with other provinces and importing goods. To control goods, production must be organized. We, ourselves, produce a number of primary agricultural products, such as grain, other types of agricultural products, food products and so forth. Besides the commodities produced by agriculture, Long An's textile enterprises annually produce 4.7 million meters of cloth; local sugar output is sufficient to fully supply the people of the province...

Centralizing goods in the hands of the state provided a tangible means of decisive significance for restoring order within distribution and circulation and created the conditions for state-operated commerce to gain control of the market. Having gained tight control of goods, we then allocated a portion for local consumption, a portion for delivery to the central level and trade with other provinces and a portion for exportation so that we could import materials to support the development of production. In terms of goods, Long An's strength lies mainly in agricultural products. To meet the requirements involved in expanding the process of reproduction and maintaining the people's



standard of living, we must turn a portion of these agricultural products into industrial goods (supplies for production and industrial consumer goods) by means of trade with the central level, with other provinces and by accelerating our exports. Our locality's implementation of plans to trade with other provinces and increase our exports has created favorable conditions for Long An to increase its procurement of agricultural products and obtain additional industrial consumer goods with which to meet the everyday needs of the people. By increasing our exports, we have been able to take the initiative and import a number of supplies, raw materials and parts to support both industrial and agricultural production. As a result, we have resolved some of the difficulties encountered in production and laid the groundwork for establishing a balance between goods and money within the locality, thereby helping to implement contracts with farmers under which they are supplied means of production in advance and reducing the cash deficit in the procurement of agricultural products.

Having gained control of goods, we organized a rational retail commerce network, on the basis of which state-operated commerce has gained control over money and used it in an effective manner, rapidly turning it over in order to expand the procurement of agricultural products and the procurement of goods from industrial, small industry and handicraft installations as well as the procurement of goods in other provinces to expand the organized market and continuously develop socialist commerce within the locality.

One reason behind some of the achievements mentioned above has been that our province has appropriately implemented the principle of democratic centralism within economic management. All products produced by the locality or obtained through trade with other sources or importation are centralized within one supply system. This has provided material resources that have enabled us to focus our efforts on completing a number of new construction projects and promptly support the acceleration of the development of production, the procurement of agricultural products, the supplying of goods to the central level and the acceleration of exports.

We have achieved combined strength and upheld the right of collective ownership.

In its management of the economy, the province has established good coordination among supply operations, finances, prices, commerce, banking, exports-imports... Business organizations have upheld the right of collective ownership, displayed self-reliance and creativity and made good use of economic, administrative and educational measures in developing the forces of the state-operated economy while carrying out the transformation of private merchants and struggling against negative phenomena.

The various commerce organizations conducted a study of the actual situation, assessed needs, calculated the purchasing power of the masses and assessed the structure of consumer goods demand among the various strata of the population in order to meet the needs for goods. Through their professional operations, the financial and banking organizations gained control of the money in circulation and coordinated with the commerce sector to establish balance

between goods and money with a view toward stabilizing prices and limiting the size of the cash deficit.

The leadership role of the party:

In recent years, in order to insure leadership by the party in all areas of economic management, the provincial party committee has given its attention to teaching and training party members in the basic viewpoints of the party concerning focusing efforts on accelerating production and eliminating the business for business sake point of view while giving them a correct understanding of the policies of the party concerning the alliance of workers and farmers under the new circumstances of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the commodity relations between the state and farmers, procurements and prices, etc.

The provincial party committee has learned how to develop the building of the party in economic management, heightened the vanguard role played by party members within the basic organizations of the party at enterprises, production installations, corporations, stations, farms and commerce stores and educated party members in protecting state property and public property, in the virtues of honesty and purity and in combating embezzlement and conspiracy.

One factor that stands out here is the high degree of consensus that exists within the party organization and among the masses. Under the leadership of the provincial party organization and the management provided by the state apparatus within the province, the people of Long An have strengthened their unity and are determined to do a good job of organizing and accelerating agricultural and industrial production, closely tie the development of production forces to the transformation of the old production relations, establish the new production relations, closely tie the development of production to the improvement of distribution and circulation and make every effort to develop Long An into a prosperous and strong province, thereby making positive contributions to building and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Lam chu tap the su dung suc manh tong hop, tao chuyen bien sau sac ve kinh te xa hoi,"[Exercising Collective Ownership, Making Use of Combined Strength and Bringing About Profound Economic and Social Change], TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1984, p 15.

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CSO: 4210/2

## LENIN'S FUNDAMENTAL VIEWS ON THE USE OF BOURGEOIS SPECIALISTS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 84 pp 62-67, 70

[Article by Tran Hau]

[Text] Lenin's views on building the corps of scientific-technical cadres, in general, as well as the use of the specialists left behind by the old system, in particular, are an important part of the theory of Leninism. These views have not only been the torch lighting the way for the communist party and state of the Soviet Union, but are also of important significance in guiding all communist and worker parties that are directly engaged in leading the transformation of the old society and the construction of socialism.

During the first years following the October Revolution, the young soviet government faced countless difficulties and challenges, it had to restore the economy, stabilize the life of the people and carry out socialist industrialization amidst the rubble and destruction of war and in the face of shortages everywhere. And what, in the fields of culture, science and technology along, had the backward capitalism in Russia bequeathed the soviet government? Some 70 percent of the Russian population between the ages of 9 and 49 was illiterate, four-fifths of children were not attending school and many nationalities had no written language. At that time, it was calculated that it would take 180 years to wipe out illiteracy among men and 280 years to wipe out illiteracy among women in Russia. In 1913, imperial Russia had only 17,500 engineers and middle school technicians within industry, 15,000 within agriculture and 5,000 within the communications-transportation sector.

Amidst these very difficult and complex circumstances, Lenin saw and defined the basic guidelines and strategic tasks regarding socialist construction. He emphasized that the material base of socialism can only be a modern machine industry based on the latest achievements of science and technology. He said: "If we do not raise Russia to a higher level of technological development, we cannot even talk about restoring the national economy or about communism."<sup>(1)</sup> And, it was during those years and months that he advanced his famous formula: "Communism = the soviet government + nationwide electrification."

In view of the strategic guidelines of socialist construction and the large requirements involved in socialist industrialization, Lenin attached very much

importance to building the corps of scientific and technical cadres, including using bourgeois specialists. In a series of works, Lenin systematically presented his views on the role of scientific-technical cadres and work of the soviet party and state concerning the specialists of the old system. These views reflected a close tie between the spirit of serious science and revolutionary zeal and broad communist humanism.

Lenin asserted that only socialism can liberate science from the shackles and enslavement of the bourgeoisie, only socialist production relations can create favorable conditions for continuously expanding social production and implementing the principle of socialist distribution. In April 1918, Lenin wrote "Draft Plan on Scientific and Technical Work," in which he clearly defined the fundamental principles of the science and technology policy, strategic tasks and the methods of gaining the participation of the forces of science in the pressing economic tasks of the country. He set for scientists the task of drafting a plan for organizing industry and developing the economy in Russia. At the same time, he defined the close relationship that exists among science, technology and the economy. Lenin pointed out that the objectives of science are to support the socialist national economy, develop production capacity, establish and perfect the new relations within society and organize and orient each effort of the laboring masses toward a common goal. He demanded that the "ivory tower" approach to scientific work not be taken and, on this basis, he defined the tasks and requirements of the corps of scientific and technical cadres. These thoughts of Lenin were developed upon and concretized in the famous GOELRO Plan--the plan to electrify Russia by applying advanced industrial technology to develop production through the use of electric power and the integrated use of the country's natural resources.

According to Lenin, after the proletariat seizes political power, socialist industrialization can only be carried out by making full use of the achievements of science and technology and even making use of the knowledge and experience of the old system. In the history of man, every class that has toppled a ruling class and begun the transition from the old system to the new has had to use the knowledge and experience left behind by the previous system. Otherwise, the new society cannot be established. Because, "the art of management does not fall from the sky nor is it something God-given; a class does not immediately become skilled in management simply because it is a progressive class."(2)

Analyzing the importance of inheriting the management knowledge and experience of capitalism as well as the need to use bourgeois specialists in order to build socialism, Lenin pointed out that crushing capitalism alone does not immediately result in the people being well fed. In order for the people to be well fed, it is necessary to build socialism, to carry out socialist industrialization. Communists begin the work of building socialism using the strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the natural resources of the country but they lack cultural knowledge and an understanding of science and technology, lack management experience and skill in economic construction. Consequently, they must selectively incorporate cultural knowledge, scientific-technological achievements and experience of capitalism and use them to build socialism. Success cannot be achieved by relying solely upon

the loyalty of communists, by only wanting to use "the clean hands of clean communists" to build socialism. The task of the proletarian party once political power has been gained is to transform the rich fruits of culture and science-technology accumulated by capitalism from tools serving capitalism, serving the bourgeoisie into tools serving socialism, serving the interests of all laboring people. Lenin wrote: "We must take the entire culture that capitalism left behind and build socialism with it. We must take all of its science, technology, knowledge and art. Without these we shall be unable to build communist society."(3) Lenin also pointed out that this scientific, technical and cultural knowledge, this management art and experience can be learned from no one other than the bourgeoisie and bourgeois specialists, than "the persons within the class toppled by us, persons poisoned by the prejudices of their class and persons whom we have the task of transforming."(4) Therefore, according to Lenin, bourgeois specialists must be viewed with very high esteem and, "every specialist must be considered a technical and cultural asset without which we cannot achieve communism."(5) Bold use must be made of bourgeois specialists even though, from an ideological standpoint, they are totally divorced from communism. Lenin frequently stressed that without making the highest possible use of the knowledge and intellect of bourgeois specialists, it is impossible to successfully build socialism. He maintained that, in terms of scientific and technical knowledge, communists have no "material" more precious than the specialists left behind by the old system when they begin the work of building socialism. Bourgeois specialists who are skilled in their job are hundreds, thousands of times more valuable than are persons who are communists in name only. And, he would "gladly swap dozens of persons who are party members in name only for one qualified specialist," even a bourgeois specialist. Lenin sharply criticized and waged a determined struggle against two attitudes that reflect disdain for learning from and using bourgeois specialists. He considered these attitudes to be detrimental to socialist construction.

Thus, the use of specialists left behind by the old system is extremely necessary, is one of the important measures in building the new society. However, Lenin demanded that the use of bourgeois specialists be based in principle, be based on a clear class viewpoint and not be random. He always reminded communists to firmly adhere to the stand of the proletariat when using bourgeois specialists and to use them for the purpose of building socialism and communism. According to him, the use of bourgeois specialists must meet three requirements:

First, the creative capabilities of bourgeois specialists must be used well to build the socialist economy.

Secondly, while using bourgeois specialists, we must correctly evaluate their strengths and weaknesses and coordinate using them with transforming them into scientific-technical specialists of socialism.

Thirdly, we must know the occupational characteristics of persons engaged in scientific and technical work so that appropriate methods can be employed to lead them.

To meet these requirements, he proposed basic guidelines and measures for rehabilitating and using bourgeois specialists.

First, Lenin maintained that the proletarian government can only rehabilitate and use bourgeois specialists through inspection and control. The proletarian government must maintain its supreme leadership over and control the activities of bourgeois specialists because they are the products of the exploitation of man by man and are profoundly influenced by the bourgeois world view. By means of close inspections and tight control, bourgeois specialists must be rehabilitated, placed under the command of the proletarian government and organized to work in accordance with the unified plan of the socialist national economy. At places that do not closely inspect and tightly control them, bourgeois specialists cannot be rehabilitated, even though the government and the proletariat might exist at these places.

Secondly, the proletariat must be willing to pay a very high price for the "services" of bourgeois specialists, especially the most experienced specialists. Admittedly, this is "a step backward for the soviet socialist government," "a concession, a departure from the principles of the Paris Commune," that is, the principles "which demand that salaries be reduced to the level of the wage of the average worker." (6) However, as Lenin analyzed, in view of the facts that the war had only recently ended, the economy was still poor and the proletariat still lacked experience in economic organization and management, this concession worked to the benefit of the proletariat. It was better to spend 100 million rubles to pay for the services of 1,000 first class specialists in the various fields in order to accelerate the domestic economy than to lose billions of rubles to the backward organization and management of the soviet state at that time. This had to be clearly explained to the masses, who would surely endorse this decision. However, it also had to be recognized that these high salaries could have a "corrupting influence" upon both the soviet government and the mass of workers, especially in view of the facts that the revolution had achieved success very quickly and there were some adventurers and swindlers who sought to become "stars" in the art of stealing public property by attaching themselves to incompetent or unscrupulous persons among their "superiors." The only solution to this negative situation, to these demands for tribute, was to "reorganize ourselves, strengthen the discipline among ourselves, sweep from our ranks all persons...who are lazy, are parasites and steal public property." (7) Only when the corps of the proletariat is truly solid, strong and pure, is strong enough to firmly maintain its leadership position is it possible for it to unite each force around itself, including bourgeois specialists, and bring to socialist construction a powerful combined strength.

Thirdly, Lenin required that class distinctions be made when examining, evaluating and using specialists because, due to their lack of social homogeneity, their interests are closely associated with the interests of the different classes and they serve the interests of these classes. The specialists of the proletariat must be considered one of the moving forces behind the socialist revolution; at the same time, we must neutralize petty bourgeois specialists, including bourgeois specialists, and struggle against reactionary bourgeois specialists whose interests are closely tied to the



bourgeoisie. "Neutralizing" the bourgeois and petty bourgeois specialists does not mean driving them far from socialism, but "paralyzing their incoherence," drawing them toward the proletariat, separating them from the corruption of the bourgeoisie and other reactionary elements and mobilizing and effectively utilizing their positive qualities to serve the cause of the proletariat. Lenin reminded everyone that bourgeois specialists are always vague, always jumping from one side to the other, always vacillating, especially in times of difficulty. Consequently, the proletariat must attach constant importance to educating and transforming bourgeois specialists in the process of using them. The purer, stronger and more solid the corps of the proletariat is, the more capable it is of educating and transforming the specialists of the old system. The leaders of the party and state, regardless of their level, must set good examples for these specialists, must typify the superior aspects of socialism and the industrial working class.

Fourthly, in order to rehabilitate the specialists of the old system, Lenin also required communists to know what was special about the work of specialists so that they treated them in a respectful and tactful manner, learned from them and helped them. In 1921 in his work "Integrated Economic Plan," Lenin harshly criticized some communist party members for not knowing how to work with specialists. They often bragged, issued orders, wrote dissertations and advanced abstract slogans but never guided the work of specialists with modesty and patience, never delved deeply into or seriously studied their work. Lenin called this "communist conceit" and bureaucracy, the "cancer" in the work of the organizations of the party. He pointed out: "These communists must bear in mind that the engineer's path to communism is different from that of the underground propagandist and the writer; he is guided by the evidence of his own science."<sup>(8)</sup> He demanded that the tendency to not trust specialists or to impose upon them very strict requirements of the type placed upon old-style propagandists be corrected.

Fifthly, on the basis of understanding the work performed by specialists, leaders must create the best possible psychological and material conditions for them to live, work and contribute. Specialists--"this special strata of society"--must be made to feel that living under socialism is more comfortable than under capitalism from the standpoint of material welfare, the law, the fraternal cooperation with workers and farmers and even their spiritual welfare, that is, they must feel satisfied with their work and know that they are benefiting society, that they have been liberated from the greedy interests of the bourgeoisie. To encourage activism on the part of specialists, Lenin said that it was necessary to create and envelop them in an atmosphere of comradeship, an atmosphere of working in the communist spirit and enable them to move forward shoulder to shoulder with the worker-farmer government.

Thus, the policy of the communist party and dictatorship of the proletariat state is the decisive factor in having bourgeois specialists play a positive role in the building of the new society.

Lenin's views on the use of the specialists left behind by the old system were not restricted to the scope of the relations between the communist party and bourgeois specialists, rather, they originated from a correct determination of

the dialectical relationship between the economy and science-technology, the dominant aspect of which must be resolving the problem of scientific-technical cadres on the basis of the requirements of the economy, of socialist construction. Lenin considered science, economics and socialism to be a single entity. He appealed for the scientific capital left behind by the old system to be used as a product of mankind, as a very important tool in economic development, in socialist construction, one that insures the steady improvement of the people's standard of living. Magnanimity on the part of the proletariat in how it treats bourgeois specialists, both psychologically and materially, is in no way an expression of rightism, of indulging bad bourgeois habits nor does it reflect light attention to workers and farmers. To the contrary, Lenin's views reflect a strategic outlook, broad knowledge of science, a precise and thorough understanding of the requirements and laws of socialism and deep dedication and profound concern for the basic interests of workers and farmers. Lenin's views on building the corps of scientific-technical cadres and using bourgeois specialists were the ideological basis of the activities and policies of the soviet communist party and state regarding intellectuals, in general, and the intellectuals of the bourgeoisie, in particular, during the years of socialist industrialization and socialist construction. By firmly adhering to these views, the CPSU divided the ranks of bourgeois intellectuals, isolated reactionary elements that opposed the soviet government and won over and attracted large numbers of specialists left behind by the old system to socialist construction. Today, these views of Lenin continue to light the way of the CPSU in the building of an advanced corps of scientific-technical cadres and the development of modern science and technology. The entire development of the corps of soviet scientific and technical cadres and the great achievements of modern day soviet science and technology are tied to the scientific and creative views of Lenin concerning the policy toward intellectuals.

Throughout the course of leading the revolution and under the light of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of Vietnam has always maintained the correct view and attitude toward the various strata of intellectuals, including the intellectuals of the old system. In 1957, the party promulgated its policy concerning intellectuals. The resolutions of the national congresses of delegates of the party as well as many other important documents of our party and state have reflected the Leninist view toward the corps of scientific and technical cadres, including those left behind by the old system. In particular, the 1981 Political Bureau resolution "On the Science and Technology Policy" once again confirmed the correct view of our party in applying the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of our country to resolve the problem of scientific and technical cadres. This resolution of the party presented guidelines, activities and measures designed to overcome difficulties, correct shortcomings and further increase the training and use of scientific and technical cadres.

Studying Lenin's arguments and the line and policy of the party will provide us with a firm ideological base and a correct methodology for properly implementing the policy regarding scientific and technical cadres and better meet the requirements involved in building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 42, p 36.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 40, p 293.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, Volume 29, p 71.
4. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 40, p 294.
5. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, Volume 30, p 549.
6. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 218.
7. Ibid., pp 220-221.
8. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 32, p 181.

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SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH SERVING THE NEEDS OF THE REVOLUTION: A BASIC ACTIVITY OF THE COLLEGE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 84 pp 68-70

[Article by Ho Dac Di]

[Text] There is no science outside social life. Science originates in life and serves life. It is through this process that science is developed.

Scientific research is the search for rational solutions to problems raised by reality in order to stimulate the development of society. Every scientific solution must be based on the objective laws of nature and society (the laws of thinking are a reflection of these laws).

Because it has its basis in the objective laws of things, scientific research assists man in correctly resolving practical problems as well as in forecasting prospects for the future and foreseeing problems that will require solutions. Scientific research is an essential part of each field of social life. In the process of scientific research, man analyzes the disorganized whole of a thing in order to understand its specific parts and once these are understood in a full and precise manner, man puts them back together in order to achieve a clearer understanding of the whole. In this ongoing process, theoretical thought discovers laws that are necessarily abstract while social reality and scientific experimentation provide man with broad and varied concrete examples.

The relationship between science and technology is the relationship between the abstract and the concrete, between substance and form. They constantly augment each other and develop continuously. Without learning modern science, we cannot become the masters of modern technology.

In science, methods are the most basic factor. As scientific methods develop, they broaden man's ability to understand and accelerate the development of science. Methods are the tool of the mental laborer. Here, it is necessary to distinguish between methodology and specific methods. Methodology is a set of general views and theories concerning the objective world and only provides us with guidelines, with a path of inquiry and research that can be depended upon to lead us to an objective. Methodology is a very important and

necessary compass for the activities of the mental laborer. However, methodology alone is not enough. The mental laborer must also know the unique, specific methods of each field of science. However, depending upon the characteristics of the subject being researched, the level of development of each field of science and the level of civilization of mankind, specific methods change quickly. In history, scientists have progressed from empirical observations and descriptions to instruments and technologies of varying degrees of sophistication within the laboratory, to measuring equipment and computers.

The laws of science are general, universal and objective. Science is a process that unfolds and develops in a specific order and within a tightly structured system. In trying to reach the top of the ladder of science that has been built by mankind, today's generation cannot skip one rung. This is the special characteristic of science.

By having teachers and students conduct scientific research and serve the requirements of the revolution well, the school can closely tie academic education to ethical instruction. This is one way to link learning to practice, the school to life, the individual to society, the teacher to the student, politics to a special field, science to the guidelines, line and tasks of the revolution, training to self-training.

In previous societies, the above were distinct and separate, each thing and man were separate unto themselves and every activity was onesided in nature. Within the school, the student was considered the object, the teacher was the master upon whom students were dependent and by whom they were guided.

In our country, the establishment of socialist production relations and social relations has provided man with the conditions needed to develop fully and the antagonism between the individual and society has been resolved by the establishment of man's right to be the collective master of the economy, politics and culture. In our society, it is one for all and all for one. Education creates the conditions for the student to develop fully and become an educated socialist who possesses intense zeal, knows how to use science and consciously serves society. Under our system, teaching and learning within our schools are closely tied to scientific research serving the requirements of the revolution, that is, science is closely tied to the realities of life, scientific theory to revolutionary action. Therefore, the student is placed in the position of active subject.

The programs and methods employed within the school must be based on the students themselves, on their educational and occupational needs, not on the desires of teachers. The relationship between teacher and student must be one of equality, of communal responsibility, must be the relationship between friends, between comrades who are working together to be the masters of the school, the masters of education, the masters of society. Our education is democratic education. The role of the teacher is to put knowledge in order, not to make students dependent upon him, to awaken the consciousness of students, not to force them to do things by means of orders.

The educational work performed by the teacher within the school is designed to awaken the potentials of students. The new culture has the effect of molding the attributes of a person's character. Social relations are the origin of culture. The socialist school must combine education with culture, combine the educational role of the school with the educational impact of society, of culture. To fully develop the student, the school must be closely tied to social life. Education must respect man, enable students to consciously take a great deal of pride in their education when they graduate and prepare them to leave the school's education of the individual student behind in order to make way for education through culture. Therefore, the school must teach the student how to live, how to work, study and conduct scientific research, how to think, use imagination...

Within the socialist college, scientific research in support of revolutionary practice is one of the basic activities of teacher and student, an activity that combines the educational factors of the school, society and culture. Instruction, learning, scientific research and service work comprise an entity. We have both the experience and the potentials needed to integrate these activities. The revolution demands this of us. May our teachers and students immerse themselves in the life of society and support the realities of the revolution in a competent and practical way in order to make continuous progress.

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STUDIES: THE LAWS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION--  
CARRYING OUT THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN THE FIELD OF IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 84 pp 71-77, 88

[Article by Quyet Tien]

[Text] To advance the socialist revolution to total victory, the party of the working class must not only lead the people in carrying out the political revolution and the economic revolution, but must also lead the people in carrying out the socialist revolution within the field of ideology and culture.

We know that the socialist revolution is the most comprehensive, most profound and most thorough revolution in the history of mankind. It has the task of thoroughly transforming the old society and building the new, socialist society in all fields of social life: politics, the economy, culture and ideology. Marx once said: "The communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas." (1) This tells us that carrying out the socialist revolution within the field of ideology and culture is a necessity because it is an integral part of the entire socialist revolution. Underscoring the tremendous importance of the socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture (broadly defined, the cultural revolution encompasses the ideological revolution), Lenin once wrote: "Now, all we need to do is complete the cultural revolution in order for our country to become an entirely socialist country." (2)

As an integral part of the entire socialist revolution, the revolution in the field of ideology and culture has significance and an impact in many areas:

First, it makes a large contribution to solidifying and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, the powerful tool employed by the working class and laboring people in the struggle to transform the old society and build the new.

By means of raising the political awareness and cultural standard of the laboring people and enabling large numbers of people to actively participate in the management of the state, in the management of the economy and society,

the ideological and cultural revolution has the effect of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and upholding the right of socialist collective ownership of the laboring people.

Secondly, it makes a large contribution to the acceleration of socialist transformation and socialist construction within the economic field. In this transformation and construction, it is very necessary that the ideological, political and cultural standards of the people be constantly raised. The building of the socialist economy, primarily the building of a large-scale, socialist machine industry, requires workers with high cultural and technical standards never envisioned in small-scale, decentralized production based on manual labor. Such workers can only be created by the cultural and ideological revolution.

Thirdly, it resolves the problem of the skilled cadres needed for socialist construction. By transforming and using the corps of intellectuals left behind by the old society, especially by training a large and well-coordinated new corps of intellectuals from among the laboring people, the ideological and cultural revolution exerts a tremendous impact upon the building of the new society, a society with high labor productivity and a brilliantly developed culture.

Fourthly, the ideological and cultural revolution has a direct impact upon the establishment of the new culture and the molding of the new, socialist man. This new culture--proletarian culture--was considered by Lenin to be "the logical development of the store of knowledge mankind has accumulated under the yoke of the capitalist, the landowner and bureaucratic society."<sup>(3)</sup> The new, socialist man is the product of the entirety of socialism, most directly the product of the ideological and cultural revolution, and is, in the spirit of the following words of President Ho, the creator of the new society: "To build socialism, we must first have socialists."

In view of its significance and impact as described above, the socialist revolution within the field of ideology and culture is clearly an important law in the process of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

It can be readily seen that in those countries that are advancing from a pre-capitalist society to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, the ideological and cultural revolution is very difficult, complex and long. In the highly developed capitalist countries, because of the dominant position occupied by bourgeois ideology, the laborer generally lacks the conditions needed to make the necessary use of cultural achievements; therefore, in the future, when advancing to socialism, the socialist revolution in the fields of ideology and culture must also be carried out within these countries in order to spiritually liberate laborers and open the way for them to a genuine culture.

In view of the significance and impact described above, the ideological and cultural revolution has the following primary tasks:

## 1. Establishing the new ideology.

The newest, most progressive, most scientific ideology of our times is Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism is the ideological weapon of the working class and laboring people in the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism. It provides us with a great tool for achieving awareness, the world view of dialectical materialism; with a pure and noble ethical concept, the ethic of collectivism: "all for one, one for all"; with an effective weapon for struggling and building the organized nature of the working class and the sense of conscientious and disciplined labor. Lenin once said that "the Marxist world view is the only true expression of the interests, the viewpoint and the culture of the revolutionary proletariat." (4) In addition, he said: "Marxism has won its historic significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat because, far from rejecting the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois era, it has, to the contrary, assimilated and refashioned everything of value in the more than 2,000 years of the development of human thought and culture." (5) And, he went on to say that only further work on this basis and in this direction can be recognized as the development of a genuine proletarian culture.

From these statements by Lenin, we can see that Marxism-Leninism, or scientific socialism, is not only the fundamental theme, it is also the base of all the work performed in establishing the new, socialist culture.

As the compass of revolutionary actions, Marxism-Leninism must be applied in a manner suited to the specific conditions of each country, on the basis of which the correct political line of the vanguard party is formulated. Therefore, teaching the line and policies of the party is teaching Marxism-Leninism in a specific, graphic manner. It is also a very important part of the entire teaching of ideology and politics by the party during the period of socialist construction.

During this period, the main task is to build the economy; the main policy of the party is also to build the country economically. In view of this, Lenin maintained that all of the party's agitational and propaganda work must have as its basis the political experience gained in economic construction. Because, at this point in time, communism is no longer a platform, a theory or a mission, but the specific work of carrying out construction on an everyday basis. Closely tied to this day to day construction is the new approach to the teaching of ideology and politics that Lenin presented to communists, namely, showing the masses, on the basis of practical experience, exactly what they must do to build socialism. He strenuously opposed empty propaganda on communism, considering it to be useless propaganda.

Lenin always closely tied the teaching of ideology to the masses to the ideological struggle against the bourgeoisie. He said: "We must overcome resistance from the capitalists, not only in the military and political spheres, but also ideological resistance, which is the most deep-seated and the strongest. It is the duty of our educational workers to accomplish the re-education of the masses." (6)

Lenin attached very much importance to teaching ideology and politics to the laboring masses in order to prepare them for socialist construction. He maintained that it is not even possible to talk about the dictatorship of the proletariat if, in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, the proletariat does not forge for itself a high spirit of awareness, good discipline and deep loyalty, that is, all the virtues needed for the proletariat to win total victory over its perennial enemy. He stressed that "education workers, and the communist party as the vanguard in the struggle, should consider it their fundamental task to help enlighten and instruct the working masses in order to cast off the old ways and habituated routine we have inherited from the old system and the private property habits with which the masses are thoroughly imbued."(7)

Thus, teaching Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of the party to the laboring masses so that Marxism-Leninism achieves the dominant position within society and the lines and policies of the party, especially its line on economic construction, deeply permeate the laboring masses and cause them to consciously and actively participate in socialist construction is a primary task of the ideological and cultural revolution.

## 2. Establishing the new, socialist culture.

The new, socialist culture is a culture established on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the spirit of socialist collective ownership. It crystallizes and enhances the very best aspects of national tradition and national culture; at the same time, it selectively incorporates the achievements of modern culture and science and the fruits of the civilization of man.

This culture has Marxism-Leninism and the line of the party as its compass. Deeply imbued with the spirit of struggling for the victory of socialism, for the abolition of the exploitation of man by man and the abolition of the classes, this culture is characterized by very thorough party involvement.

This culture must be highly national in character because the people are both the subjects and masters of this culture and not only enjoy its spiritual values but create them as well.

As a constituent component of the new society, this culture is imbued with patriotism and proletarian internationalism. It supports the construction and defense of the socialist fatherland while struggling to safeguard world peace, to strengthen the friendship among all peoples on earth.

Endeavoring to establish such a culture is, of course, an important task of the ideological and cultural revolution. This culture is both the objective of the socialist revolution and an important instrument in the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism.

To establish a new, socialist culture, it is necessary to develop the national educational system and provide knowledge of every field to youths and all the people in order to build a prosperous and strong socialist country. This education system must express the cultural policy and line of the leading party and competently support the construction and defense of the socialist

fatherland. The goal of education is to train workers who possess socialist consciousness and awareness, achieve a universal cultural standard, work in a technical, disciplined and highly productive manner, possess good health and appreciate beauty.

It is necessary to promote science and technology and establish for the country a corps of qualified technical workers and a corps of skilled cadres who are able to resolve the complex scientific and technical problems arising in the construction and defense of the fatherland. In conjunction with this, we must transform and make proper use of the intellectuals left behind by the old society.

Of course, it is also necessary to develop public health services and physical culture and sports in a manner closely linked to production and everyday life, to the defense of the fatherland.

As a component of the new, socialist culture, the new literature and art, socialist realist literature and art, must express the important thinking and feelings of the nation and our times. They must bring joy and beauty to the people, elevate their thinking and feelings and make positive contributions to the construction and defense of the socialist fatherland.

It is also necessary to establish the new, socialist lifestyle among the people so that they are imbued with the principle "one for all, all for one." This ethical viewpoint demands that everyone wholeheartedly struggle for the great cause of socialism, work in a conscious, disciplined and technical manner, make every effort to protect socialist property, love and respect his fellow man, respect the rules of communal life and study hard to improve himself in every respect while waging a determined struggle against the backward habits and corrupt ways of the old society.

### 3. Molding the new socialist man.

In the view of the founders of scientific communism, the new man must be a fully developed man who has cast off the customs and habits of the old society; subscribes to the scientific world view and the communist philosophy of life; is loyal to the great cause of liberating man from all oppression, exploitation and injustice; possesses a high sense of socialist collectivism; is educated and has a knowledge of modern science and technology; is in good health; and appreciates beauty.

Loyal to the teachings of Marx and Engels, Lenin also outlined the main characteristics of the new man, whom he called the communist, that is, a person struggling for the victory of communism.

Lenin said: "It would mean falling into a grave error for you to try to draw the conclusion that one can become a communist without assimilating the wealth of knowledge amassed by mankind."(8)

Maintaining that all cultural and educational work that has the purpose of molding true communists must be based on Marxism, the philosophy that inherited and enhanced the very best of the more than 2,000 year development

of the thinking and culture of mankind, Lenin showed us that the new man must be a person who assimilates Marxism in the entirety of its scientific world view, its revolutionary philosophy of life, its communist ethics and so forth.

Lenin said: "Communist ethics are based on the struggle for the consolidation and completion of communism."(9)

Regarding the new man's attitude toward work, Lenin wrote: "The communist youth union should teach all young people to engage in conscious and disciplined labor from an early age."(10)

In many of his works, Lenin stressed the need to imbue everyone with the principle "one for all, all for one," the need to attack old, bad customs, chief among which was the dictum "everyone for himself, God will take care of everything," a dictum that reeked of individualism, the product of private ownership, the pinnacle of which is the capitalist system.

Thus, in the thinking of Lenin, the most basic characteristics of the new man are: the assimilation of Marxism, loyalty to the cause of communism, possessing noble communist ethics, being highly educated, working in a conscious and disciplined manner, being able to appreciate beauty as a result of assimilating the proletarian culture, etc. Of course, to Lenin, communists, more than anyone else, must possess an ardent love of their socialist fatherland and the pure proletarian international spirit--one of the beautiful characteristics of the revolutionary proletariat.

The above are the primary tasks of the socialist revolution within the field of ideology and culture.

One point that must be stressed is that the new man as well as the new thinking and the new culture can only become firmly established through the realities of the struggle for socialism. And, the struggle within the field of ideology and culture, as is the case in the other fields, must be carried out under the leadership of the communist party and the management of the dictatorship of the proletariat state in order for victory to be assured. This is both a matter of principle and a truth that has been completely proven by the realities of the socialist revolution in many countries.

Lenin once said: "All organizations of the proletarian culture...must perform their tasks under the common leadership of the soviet government...and the Russian Communist Party and must consider their tasks to be a part of all the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat."(11) This is something that we must remember.

In the Soviet Union, extremely large results have been achieved in the great cultural revolution during the more than 60 year existence of the socialist system. Marxism-Leninism has long occupied the position of absolute dominance within society. Virtually everyone lives and works under the guideline "one for all, all for one." The common culture of the land of the soviets, with its very different ethnic components, has undergone unprecedented brilliant development. The level of education of the people has been raised very much since illiteracy was wiped out in the 1930's. The Soviet Union is the world



leader in many fields of science and technology. A new, model person, a model soviet possessed of beautiful virtues very similar to those of the communist described by Lenin has become the norm in society. The most general result of the cultural revolution is that the Soviet Union has managed to train all the specialized cadres needed for all sectors of the economy, science, education, culture and state management. The following few figures show just how great the achievements of the Soviet Union in the training of skilled workers and cadres have been. In 1982, 851 of every 1,000 working persons in the Soviet Union had a college or middle school education (including both graduates and persons still attending school). In 1981, the Soviet Union had more than 1.4 million scientific cadres, that is, one-fourth the total number of persons working in science in the world. In 1981, the Soviet Union had 38 doctors for every 10,000 persons. Skilled specialists play key roles within the various sectors of the economy. This assures the country of rapid scientific and technological advancement. It is not surprising that the Soviet Union was the first country in the history of man to put a man-made satellite in space and put the world's first astronaut, Yuri Gagarin, into earth orbit. We should also not forget that together with training the new corps of socialist intellectuals, the Soviet Union has made proper use and strongly developed the talents of the intellectuals left behind by the old society, typical among whom have been Friedrich Tsander, the founder of the first scientific organization specializing in jet propulsion research and missile production, Konstantin Tsiolkovsky, the founder of space science, Nikolai Zhukovski, the famous aviation theorist, etc.

The other socialist countries, where socialist ideology is also the dominant ideology, have also recorded major victories in the cultural revolution, established a genuine people's education system and formed a circle of people's intellectuals.

In our country, our party has attached very much importance to the ideological and cultural revolution, considering it to be an integral part of the entire socialist revolution. It has placed the ideological and cultural revolution within the framework of the general line on the socialist revolution in our country, within a dialectical relationship with the production relations revolution and the scientific-technological revolution and is carrying it out under the leadership of the party and the management of the socialist state. Our party has established the task of working to put Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the working class, into the position of absolute dominance within the life of our society. Our party has pointed out that the new culture being established by us is a culture that is socialist in content and national in nature, a popular culture characterized by party involvement. It has also pointed out that the special traits of the new, socialist Vietnamese are collective ownership, working, socialist patriotism and the proletarian international spirit. Our party has also adopted proper measures for establishing the new thinking, building the new culture and molding the new, socialist man, the key to which is to do so through the realities of the revolution, through the bitter struggle between socialism and capitalism in the period of transition to socialism within our country as well as through the struggle against the schemes and acts of sabotage and aggression of the imperialists and international reactionaries against our country.

Under the leadership of the party, the ideological and cultural revolution in our country has won very important victories.

Marxism-Leninism occupies a strong position in the spiritual life of our people and is moving toward a position of absolute dominance. A widespread national education system encompassing all grades of education has been established throughout the country, thereby helping to train the corps of new, qualified workers. The bourgeois specialists left behind by the old society are being utilized in the building of the new society. The education sector has supplied to our country's economy and national defense system educated, able-bodied scientific-technical cadres, management and professional cadres and youths to meet the requirements of building and defending the fatherland. A new culture and art have come into being, are developing and are having a good impact in improving the cultural and spiritual life of the people. The corps of scientific and technical cadres is steadily growing. We have trained more than 3,000 cadres who have a post-graduate education, more than 180,000 cadres who have a college education, nearly 70,000 cadres who have an academy education, over 470,000 cadres who have a vocational middle school education and more than one-half million technical workers. Public health services and physical culture-sports have developed quite well. More and more new, socialist persons are emerging within our society with each passing day.

These are the salient features of the victories of the ideological and cultural revolution in our country.

To further promote the ideological and cultural revolution, our people must heed the following advice of General Secretary Le Duan: "The ideological and cultural revolution molds the new, socialist man, molds the collective master, a person who has both the consciousness and ability needed to be the master. We must correct the practice of letting things drift on the ideological and cultural front, mount a determined struggle against bourgeois, colonialist and feudal thinking and culture and criticize and transform the thinking, lifestyle, attitudes and habits of the small-scale producer, as well as the remnants of the old culture and backward customs that corrupt man and encourage selfish individualism." (Excerpt from speech at the 6th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee)

We are confident that, by following the line of the party and the advice of the general secretary, by employing the strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by relying upon the sense of ownership of the laboring people and by overcoming the difficulties and correcting the shortcomings pointed out by the party, the ideological and cultural revolution in our country will surely win new victories and make major contributions to our people's work of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, 1970, Volume I, p 50.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Vietnamese version, Progress Publishers, Moscow, p 180.

3. Ibid., p 713.
4. Ibid., p 725.
5. Ibid., p 726.
6. Ibid., p 734.
7. Ibid., p 729.
8. Ibid., p 712.
9. Ibid., p 720.
10. Ibid., p 724.
11. Ibid., p 726.

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## CARRYING ON THE GREAT CAUSE OF THE 1ST INTERNATIONAL

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 84 pp 78-81

[Unattributed article commemorating the 120th anniversary of the founding of the 1st International (28 September 1864-28 September 1984)]

[Text] In the middle of the last century, when capitalism was developing swiftly and the bourgeoisie was viciously exploiting the working class and laboring people, the struggle between labor and capital was sharp and the worker and democratic movements were developing strongly. This situation urgently demanded that the working class reunite itself, not only within each country, but on an international scale as well, in order to wage not only an economic struggle but a political struggle as well. In the face of this situation K. Marx and F. Engels focused their efforts on arming the proletarian masses with the theory of scientific socialism in order to show the proletariat its historic, worldwide mission and prepare for the founding of a genuine international revolutionary organization of the working class. On 28 September 1864, during a large meeting held in London, England, of worker representatives from all countries, an extremely important event in the history of the international communist and worker movement occurred: the International Workingmen's Association, that is, the 1st International, was born.

Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, were also the founders and leaders of the 1st International. The main ideas presented in "The Communist Manifesto" which Marx and Engels wrote in 1848 under a commission from the Communist League, a revolutionary organization founded by Marx and Engels in 1847, were presented by Marx in "The Opening Appeal" and in the Statutes of the 1st International. During its 8 years (1864-1872), the 1st International, as Lenin observed "laid the foundation for the proletarian struggle, of an international nature, to achieve socialism." (1)

Foremost among the great services performed by the 1st International was that it gave the world proletariat a clear understanding of its historic mission and political role as the leader of the struggle to abolish the old social order and build an entirely new social system: socialism and communism. It

brought the revolutionary theory of the working class onto the world stage and laid the groundwork for combining scientific socialism with the worker movement on an international scale.

The 1st International laid the foundation for the organized nature of the proletariat on an international scale as well as within each country. It prepared the conditions for the founding of revolutionary parties of a mass nature and set forth the principles underlying the strategy and tactics of these organizations.

The 1st International laid the foundation for close political and ideological ties and united actions among the contingents of the working class in all countries and united them on the basis of proletarian internationalism. It marked the start of the cultivation of unity and the spirit of mutual assistance based on fraternal relations among the different contingents of the working class and their training in revolutionary struggle and scientific theory. It demonstrated the essence and significance of proletarian internationalism and showed that the working class can only prevail over class enemies by coordinating its efforts. Within the framework of the 1st International, the vanguard units of the working class of the different countries recognized their obligation to the working people of their country and clearly understood their responsibility to the international worker movement.

The 1st International implemented a new style of democracy, proletarian democracy, and all of its activities were based on the principle of democratic centralism.

The process of building and maintaining the 1st International was also the process of waging an active struggle to bring the worker movement within the orb of scientific socialism and rid it of the venom of opportunism and non-proletarian types of socialism. Organizationally, Marx defeated the attempt by the Proudhon faction to turn the 1st International into a "debating club" and the attempt by the Bakunin faction to create internal divisions and win over other factions in a vain attempt to monopolize the 1st International. Marx also exposed the reformist, reactionary nature of the Lassalle faction in Germany and the trade unionism faction in Great Britain. These opportunist groups and factions were driven from the 1st International.

The 1st International was a success, having set the guidelines for the advance of the communist and worker movement. In 1889, in order to carry on this glorious revolutionary cause and tradition, Engels established the 2nd International. The 2nd International (1889-1914) developed the international communist movement in breadth, helped socialist worker parties come into existence and, by legal means expanded its activities within many capitalist countries. Following the death of Engels (1895), the 2nd International was monopolized by rightist opportunism and revisionism. During this period, Lenin undertook the task of struggling against every opportunist and revisionist tendency within the 2nd International. He was the first person to turn the ideals of the 1st International into reality by leading the Russian October Socialist Revolution to victory and establishing the first socialist state in the world. In 1919, at Lenin's initiative, the 3rd International,

that is, the Communist International, was founded to carry on the cause of the 1st International. During its nearly 25 years, the 3rd International developed the communist movement throughout the world and stimulated the birth and growth of communist parties not only within virtually every western capitalist country, but even in the countries of the East, where the economy was still backward, the working class was still small and peasants constituted the majority of the population.

Since the birth of the 1st International, the world has changed completely. The revolutionary offensive launched by the working class and people of Russia led to the victory of the Russian October Revolution, a victory of very large historic significance that ushered in a new era for mankind. Under the banner of the October Revolution, the revolutionary offensives of the working class and people of many countries following the victory over fascism led to the formation of the increasingly large and powerful world socialist system. Along with the formation and development of the world socialist system, the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has reached an unprecedented level of development. Today, colonialism has virtually been abolished as a system and virtually all former colonies have won their national independence, many of which are following the socialist path of development. The three great revolutionary currents in the world are on the offensive, shrinking the position of imperialism and expanding the influence of socialism throughout the world. The ideals of the 1st International have been achieved on a large portion of our planet and become a material force determining the essence, direction and characteristics of the development of man's history in the modern age. It can be stated that no other social theory, no other political movement in history has won a victory as great as the victory that has been won by the doctrine of communism and the communist movement that started with the 1st International.

One of the important lessons of the 1st International is that a resolute struggle must be waged against opportunism, factionalism and every other non-proletarian ideology in order to unite the working class on the basis of scientific socialism and under the banner of proletarian internationalism.

Today, among the various petty bourgeois nationalist movements that oppose Marxism in the guise of Marxists, Maoism, which is essentially great Han chauvinism, is especially dangerous. Like the enemies of the 1st International 120 years ago, Beijing ruling circles, the disciples of Maoism, are making every effort to attack proletarian internationalism. They are doing everything possible to distort and twist the principles of Marxism to serve their expansionism and hegemony and defend their betrayal of the revolution. By means of extremely vile slander, they have falsely accused the Soviet Union of being the "great hegemonist" in an attempt to discredit the first socialist state in the world, the pillar of the socialist system and the dependable base of the struggle for peace, national independence and social progress throughout the world. They have resorted to every ugly activity conceivable, including armed aggression and attacks against Vietnam, in their vain attempt to weaken the important fortress of peace, national independence and socialism in Southeast Asia. They have relentlessly slandered Cuba, the bastion of socialism in Latin America. By winning over and buying the allegiance of others, by means of deception, by picking and choosing and by



means of many behind-the-scenes tricks, they have worked to undermine the solidarity and consensus of the socialist system and weaken the political and ideological unity, the voluntary cooperation and the equal relations among the communist and worker parties of the world. Clearly, Beijing is the largest force sabotaging and undermining the world revolutionary movement, both ideologically and organizationally, and should be cursed for the way that it has trampled upon the fine tradition of the 1st International.

Lenin once pointed out: "Backward or underdeveloped economic relations usually lead to the emergence of elements within the worker movement who only comprehend some aspects of Marxism, some particular components of the new world view or some particular slogans and demands but cannot completely sever themselves from the traditions of the bourgeois world view, in general, or the bourgeois-democratic world view, in particular."(2)

Today, the criminal actions of the leaders of China are not solely due to the fact that they "only comprehend some aspects of Marxism," but to the fact that they have intentionally used, distorted and then betrayed Marxism. It can be said that not since the 1st International has a party been as tragically transfigured by its leaders as the Communist Party of China has.

The bitter struggle of the 1st International against the Proudhon and Bakunin opportunists resulted in the victory of Marxism, which began as merely one of the many ideological trends in existence at that time and has been the dominant ideology within the worker movement since the final decades of the 19th century. The determined struggle waged by Lenin and other genuine communists against the opportunists within the 2nd International laid the foundation for the victory of the great Russian October Socialist Revolution and the subsequent birth of the world socialist system.

Today, genuine communists in the world who are loyal to proletarian internationalism are engaged in a decisive struggle against opportunism of all types, especially against the distortions and sabotage of Maoism, considering it to be a tragedy upon the world communist and worker movement, a major obstacle to efforts to uphold the revolutionary tradition of the 1st International. By carrying on the glorious revolutionary tradition of the 1st International, waging a relentless struggle against Maoism and opportunism of all types and protecting the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the communist and worker parties of all countries will surely stimulate the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and win new and larger victories for the world revolution.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 38, p 363.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, Volume 20, p 77.

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## BULGARIA'S ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 84 pp 82-84

[Article by Nguyen Ho]

[Text] On 9 September 1944, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Bulgaria and with the assistance of the Soviet Army, the people of Bulgaria arose in armed rebellion and liberated themselves from fascist rule.

Immediately after liberation, Bulgaria began to gradually transform the old production relations and establish the new. The 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Bulgaria (1948) established the line on socialist construction, a line that attached primary importance to the two tasks of socialist industrialization and agricultural cooperativization. In nearly 12 years of transformation and construction, Bulgaria virtually completed the main tasks of the period of transition in order to begin the construction of developed socialism. On the basis of the achievements that have been recorded and the peculiar characteristics of the country's situation, the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria held in April, 1956 set the line for the comprehensive development of the economy as: continuing to carry out socialist industrialization, promoting the development of heavy industry, considering it to be the base for the effective development of the entire national economy, and consolidating the position of the working class while steadily developing agriculture and light industry.

This line, which is generally referred to as the April Line, brought about a profound change, not only within economic activities, but also in the material and spiritual lives of the Bulgarian people. Under it, the construction of the material-technical bases of socialism was accelerated, thereby creating the conditions for the development of every aspect of social life. In the process of implementing this line, a factor of major significance in the evolution of the Bulgarian economy was the shift by a large portion of the agricultural labor force to industry, where labor productivity was higher. Subsequent congresses of the party supplemented, developed upon and perfected this line, thus insuring the Bulgarian economy of increasingly steady and stable development. Recently, the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Bulgaria (1981) established the guidelines for building the material-technical bases of developed socialism. These are: automation within production and

the other fields of social activity, the development of electronic technology, robotic technology, microscopic engineering and microbiological standards as well as the retooling and widespread modernization of the existing production system.

In its economic strategy, the Communist Party of Bulgaria believes that it must first effectively develop the country's potentials through self-reliance; at the same time, it attaches importance to cooperation and economic ties with the fraternal socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, considering this to be a necessary factor in accelerating the construction of the material-technical bases of socialism. Bulgaria has been an active member of CEMA for many years. It has taken positive steps to establish specialization and cooperation in production and establish economic ties with a view toward benefiting itself and the fraternal countries on the basis of the principles of mutual assistance, cooperation and mutual benefit.

As a result of their increasingly improved economic strategy and through 40 years of steadfast efforts, the people of Bulgaria have changed their country from a backward agricultural country into a country that has a developed industry and agriculture and material-technical bases that are not only large in terms of their size and value, but are also distributed in a well balanced manner among the various sectors and rationally distributed within the country's territory.

In industry, the achievements that have been recorded are a source of pride to the Bulgarian people. Today, industrial output is 81 times higher than it was prior to the revolution and industry now plays the dominant role within the national economy. Prior to 1944, the ratio between industry and agriculture was 24.7:75.3; today, it is 83:17. Some key industrial sectors, such as machine manufacturing, electric power, chemicals and so forth, have developed rapidly and recorded outstanding achievements. The output of the country's machine manufacturing industry increased 121 times between 1951 and 1982. Prior to 1951, Bulgaria's machine manufacturing industry produced virtually no exports; in 1982, the products exported by this sector to the socialist countries were worth 3.2 billion rubles. Electricity output has also risen rapidly, increasing six times between 1960 and 1983. Today, in Bulgaria, atomic power accounts for 25 percent of total power output. On a per capita basis, Bulgaria ranks on a par with the advanced countries of Europe in power output.

In agriculture, Bulgaria has also taken exceptional strides forward. Agricultural output increased 3.4 times between 1951 and 1982. In 1983, with a population of 9 million, Bulgaria produced 10 million tons of cereal grains, nearly 850,000 tons of meat, 2.5 million tons of milk and 2.5 billion eggs. The average Bulgarian consumes about 70 kilograms of meat, 250 kilograms of milk, 215 eggs, 280 kilograms of vegetables and fruit, 35 kilograms of sugar and sugar products and so forth per year, all of which is over and above the products allocated for exportation and industrial production.

Bulgaria's agriculture not only meets the people's needs for grain and food products and supplies raw materials to the processing industry, but also provides about 30 percent of the country's total exports.

The above mentioned results have been due to many reasons, including the positive steps taken to orient industry toward supporting agriculture. In Bulgaria, practically all aspects of agricultural production have been mechanized. Effective irrigation and drainage have been established on one-fourth of the country's cropland. Each year, industry supplies 750,000 tons of chemical fertilizers to agriculture. Prior to 1950, less than 1 kilogram of mineral fertilizers was applied per hectare of farmland; today, an average of 174 kilograms is applied per hectare. In this respect, Bulgaria exceeds the United States, Canada and many countries of western Europe.

Among the causes behind the success of Bulgaria's agriculture, it is necessary to mention the improvements that have been made to the organizational structure and management system within agricultural production. In 1959 and 1960, the size of agricultural production cooperatives was increased to be consistent with the nature of socialist production. In the space of those 2 years, 3,290 small cooperatives were merged to form 932 large cooperatives, each with an average of 4,3000 hectares of cropland. These large cooperatives provided the basis for the establishment of agro-industrial combines (called APK). At present, the agricultural production of Bulgaria is concentrated in nearly 300 large combines that have 4.1 million hectares of cropland, more than 85 percent of the country's total cropland. With this method of organization, Bulgaria is one of the leaders in the world in centralization within agricultural production.

The establishment of agro-industrial combines represents a major change within agricultural production in Bulgaria and has created the conditions for centralization, specialization and the expanded application of industrial measures within agricultural production. Bulgaria's experience in the establishment of APK's has not only been studied and applied by some socialist countries, but also by some nationalist countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Another achievement in the implementation of Bulgaria's economic strategy has come in the training of cadres to support economic development. During the past 40 years, Bulgaria has trained 367,000 cadres who have a college level education. At present, Bulgaria has 29 colleges and 184 scientific research institutes with 22,900 scientific research cadres, including thousands of professors, Ph.D.'s and assistant professors. In addition to training cadres, Bulgaria's education sector has worked hard to provide the Bulgarian people with the knowledge of culture, science and technology needed to use modern machinery and resolve complex production problems.

Together with the development of its scientific and technical sectors, Bulgaria has attached very much importance to developing the social science sectors with a view toward supporting socio-economic management. The Bulgarian party and state have encouraged the rapid application of the results of sociological studies in management activities. In 1967, the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee adopted a resolution on sociological research and, in 1982, it adopted a resolution on assigning psychologists and sociologists to positions on the staffs of industrial enterprises and economic agencies.

Today, following years of socialist construction, Bulgaria, as observed by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria and chairman of the Bulgarian Council of State, "is a developed socialist country that has a developed industry and a highly mechanized agriculture that rests upon a socialist foundation; is a country that is enhancing the cultural values of its nation and the world; is a country in which everything is done for the worker, for man."(1)

The Vietnamese are very happy over the tremendous achievements of the fraternal people of Bulgaria. We are deeply confident that, on the basis of the achievements that have been recorded, the Bulgarian people, under the wise leadership of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, will surely record new, large achievements in their socialist construction, make life within the "country of roses" increasingly prosperous and happy and make worthy contributions to strengthening the potentials of the socialist community.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. News Release, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, November, 1983 (Russian version), p 30.

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## ETHIOPIA ON THE ROAD TO VICTORY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 9, Sep 84 pp 85-88

[Article by Ho Bat Khuat]

[Text] The victory of the Ethiopian revolution was an event of tremendous significance, not only to the revolutionary movement in Africa, but also to the world revolutionary movement.

Inspired by the national liberation movement in the world, including the example set by the Vietnamese in their fight, the people of Ethiopia arose in struggle to win their right to live. Through the strength of their intense hatred and resentment toward the feudal system, the Ethiopian people removed Emperor Haile Selassie from office on 12 September 1974, thereby ending thousands of years of rule by the feudal class in Ethiopia forever.

Yearning for a society of freedom, democracy and peace, the revolutionary people of Ethiopia have gradually carried out revolutionary reforms: nationalizing the factories, enterprises and banks of the bourgeoisie; confiscating the cropland of the princes, aristocracy and landowners and distributing it among peasants; and gradually abolishing the exploitation of man by man. During the past 10 years, the people of Ethiopia have surmounted countless difficulties and won victories of decisive significance.

### Socio-Economic Changes

Building a strong national economy is the foremost concern of Ethiopia. However, this is work fraught with difficulties and complex problems because the country's economy is still backward, not much has been done by way of exploring for natural resources, the force of cadres is not large enough, etc. In the initial stage of the revolution, on the basis of the country's characteristics, Ethiopia has given its attention to developing agriculture in order to meet the essential needs for grain and food, for raw materials for industry and create sources of export goods. As a result of applying new techniques of intensive cultivation, crop yields have risen rapidly. The yield of coffee (the principal agricultural crop) was twice as high in 1982 as it was preceding the revolution. The amount of area under cultivation doubled in 1982 compared to 1979. The network of state farms has developed



quickly and is playing an increasingly important role in resolving the grain problem. Practically all jobs at the state farms have been mechanized and the work force is becoming increasingly skilled. At present, the state farms are endeavoring to produce more than 40 percent of total grain output.

Aware of the importance of the production relations revolution, Ethiopia's leadership has attached importance to agricultural cooperativization and has performed this work in an urgent but cautious manner. Cooperatives and agricultural production collectives have been established with the voluntary participation of large numbers of farmers. Today, Ethiopia has more than 2,000 agricultural cooperatives and more than 3,000 marketing cooperatives. The cooperatives are working hard to truly become advanced economic units, to truly yield economic returns.

Due to the development of agriculture, exports have also increased rapidly. The value of exports increased by 217 percent between 1974 and 1982 (primarily coffee, leather, honey and oil bearing grains). As regards imports, consumer goods and luxury items were the main imports prior to 1974. Today, the majority of imports are goods necessary for economic development.

Ethiopia's industry has also undergone significant development. At present, although the industrial labor force only equals 5 percent of the population, it produces more than 10 percent of gross national income. In 1983, production within the state-operated industry, which consists of 140 large and medium-size enterprises, rose by 8.4 percent compared to 1983. Many large hydroelectric power plants, machine works, chemical plants, cement plants and so forth are being constructed with the assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

In the field of culture and education, a major campaign to wipe out illiteracy has been carried out in Ethiopia. As a result of the participation of more than 60,000 teachers and military personnel in this campaign, illiteracy was wiped out among tens of millions of citizens. In 1980, Ethiopia was awarded the Gold Medal by the United Nations for this outstanding achievement. The general school enrollment has doubled compared to the years preceding the revolution. The country now has more than 3.5 million students attending schools.

#### Satisfying the Deeply Held Aspirations of Revolutionaries by Establishing a Marxist-Leninist Party

The people of Ethiopia have carried out their national, democratic revolution and begun the work of building their country and advancing it toward socialism without having a Marxist-Leninist party to lead them. As a result, the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist party is a pressing need, an objective demand, a necessary stage of development of the revolution; at the same time, it is the deeply held aspiration of Ethiopian revolutionaries.

The platform of the national, democratic revolution in Ethiopia that was announced on 20 June 1976 stated: "The only guarantee of ultimate victory is a genuine proletarian party."

The genuine revolutionary militants of Ethiopia, having adopted Marxism-Leninism at an early date, struggled hard for the evolution from democratic thinking to scientific socialism and have guided the class struggle from the perspective of scientific socialism. In the course of this struggle, they gradually eliminated opportunist elements, rightist elements and elements hostile to the ideology and interests of the class and achieved ideological consensus.

On this basis, in 1979, the "Committee To Organize the Ethiopian Workers Party"(COPWE) was established, with Mengistu Haile-Mariam being elected as its chairman. This committee has the task of propagandizing Marxism-Leninism and establishing the conditions and the base needed for the establishment of the vanguard unit of the working class.

Since its establishment, COPWE has held three conferences to define the strategy and tactics of the Ethiopian revolution in the immediate stage and over the long range, formulate the Platform and Statutes and, at the same time, summarize and gain experience from party work.

COPWE has attached importance to the widespread propagation of the world view of the working class and stresses the importance of ideological work in raising the political awareness of the people. The members of COPWE hold weekly lectures at agencies, enterprises, state farms and so forth on the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. The country now has some 6,500 clubs that are conducting a wide variety of practical activities, thereby enabling large numbers of the people to study the classical works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Ethiopian revolutionaries also consider it important to study and research the experiences of the fraternal countries in party building, especially of those countries that are similar in some respects to Ethiopia, such as Vietnam, Cuba and so forth.

COPWE has accepted as members persons who have been trained through the realities of the revolutionary struggle and productive labor, who meet the primary standards of possessing revolutionary awareness, being loyal to the cause of revolution and possessing revolutionary zeal and who endorse the "democratic national revolution platform."

At present, COPWE has more than 30,000 members and many chapters have been established at agencies, enterprises, farms, cooperatives and units of the armed forces. Of important significance is the fact that the number of members within the corps of workers has risen rapidly. Whereas workers only accounted for 2.9 percent of COPWE's membership in 1982, they now account for 21 percent, that is, one of every five of COPWE's members is a member of the working class. This is a sure sign that the Ethiopian working class is growing, is moving forward to undertake its vanguard mission.

The Ethiopian revolutionary leadership has established close relations with the people, thereby laying an important base for the establishment of a strong party. For the first time in the history of Ethiopia, democratic organizations of the masses, such as the Trade Union, the Revolutionary Youth Union, the Women's Union, the Farmers Union and so forth, have emerged and are conducting activities. Today, large numbers of the people are participating

in socio-political activities. Some 1.3 million cadres on the various levels of the mass organizations, who have been democratically elected, unanimously support the leadership of COPWE and want it to become the Ethiopian workers party. In actuality, COPWE has been playing the role of the precursor of a Marxist-Leninist party, the role of organizer and leader of the Ethiopian revolution in the recent past.

Thus, it can be said that, in Ethiopia, the bases and conditions needed for the official founding of a Marxist-Leninist party have been fully prepared. The birth of the Ethiopian Workers Party on the 10th anniversary of the revolution's victory will mark an extremely important event in the political life of the Ethiopian people. From then on, a Marxist-Leninist party will be directly leading the Ethiopian revolution, leading it to new pinnacles.

Compared to the 3,000 year history of the Ethiopian nation, the past 10 years are but a very brief period of time. However, they have been 10 glorious years. They have been marked by the laboring people of Ethiopia arising and liberating themselves and have ushered in a new era--the era of building a system of freedom, democracy and socialism in the land of Ethiopia.

Angered by the victories of the Ethiopian revolution, international reactionaries, headed by the U.S. imperialists, have launched a fierce counter-attack in a vain attempt to force the people of Ethiopia to abandon the course they have selected. They have grossly distorted the revolutionary situation in Ethiopia, supported the reactionary forces within Ethiopia that seek to re-establish themselves, aided Somalia in its war of aggression against Ethiopia, etc. However, through their own steadfast efforts and with the large and effective assistance of the Soviet Union, Cuba and the other socialist countries, the armed forces and people of Ethiopia have thwarted each of these attempts at sabotage by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, firmly protected their country and continued to march steadily down the course they have selected for themselves.

The Vietnamese together with progressive mankind feel great joy over the victories that the Ethiopian revolution has won and are deeply confident that the fraternal people of Ethiopia, with their determination, energies and creativity and with the heartfelt assistance of the world revolutionary movement, will surely move forward, surely reach ever brighter pinnacles of victory.

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